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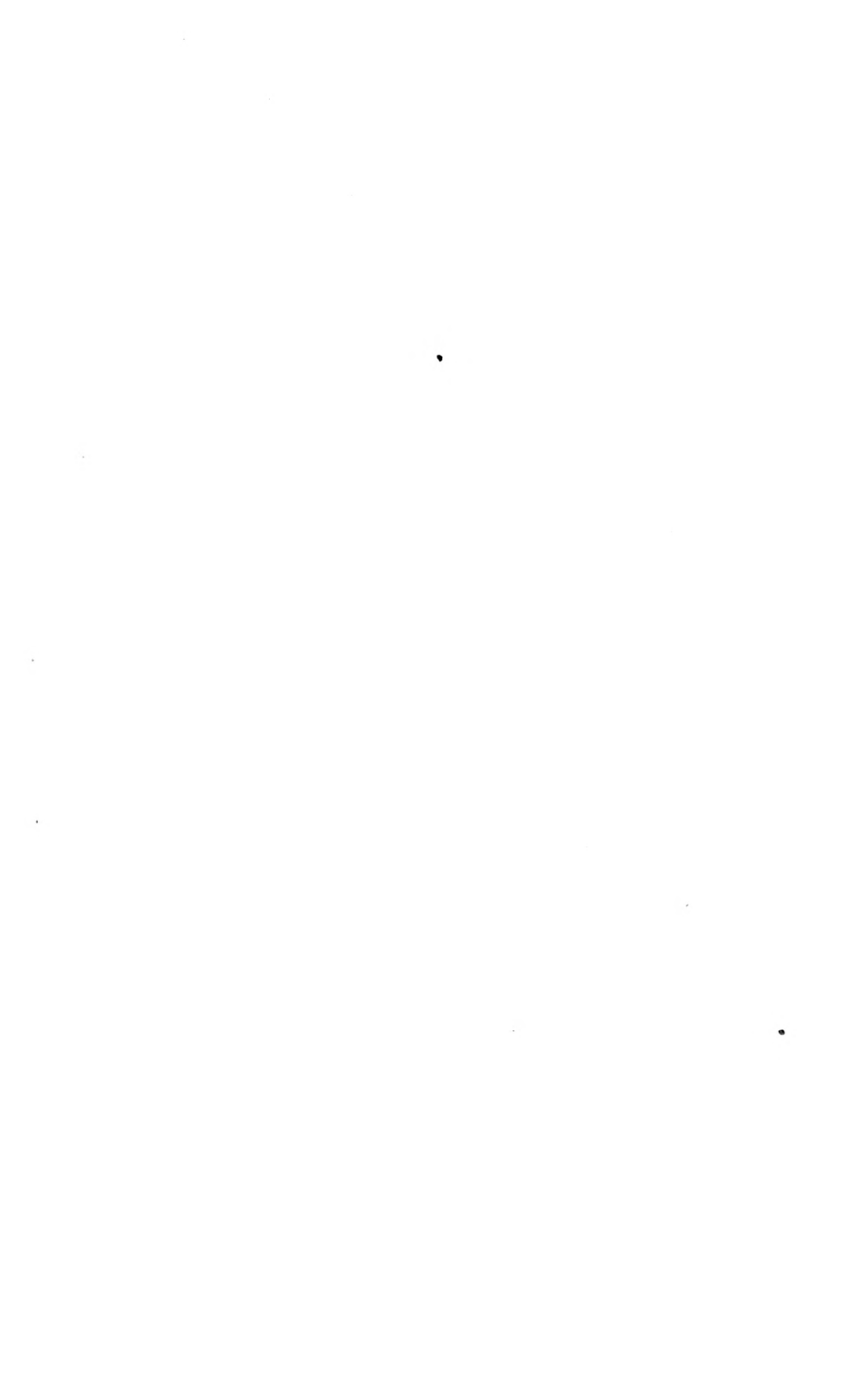
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Indian Politics 1921-22.

CHAPTER I.

India and the World.

It is remarked with justice that the North-West Frontier question has long exercised a continuous if customarily imponderable influence upon the fortunes of

India and Asia.

India. That such should be the case is scarcely strange ; for while the conditions governing the defence of India's landward gate vary from age to age, her vulnerability is as unalterable as her mountain passes ; her attraction as permanent as human cupidity. Since the establishment of British Rule, the might of the Empire has shielded India from her foes, and, in part at least, obliterated from folk-memory the horrors of recurrent invasion. But in proportion as the educated classes acquire an ampler acquaintance with living political issues, their interest increases in those external developments which concern the security of their frontiers. Particularly during the course of the period under review, has there been noticeable a growing anxiety among certain sections of the Indian public relative to the situation in Central Asia ; combined with a gradual realization that the problem of India's defence is at once more vital and more complex than is generally supposed. This development is healthy, not merely from the proof it affords that Indian citizens are awakening to the responsibilities of their newly recognised status in the commonwealth, but also from the inherent gravity of the subject itself. Anarchy in Central Asia : the advancing tide of Bolshevik aggression : deeply agitated Islamic sentiment : a distracted border— such were the anxieties which beset the statesmen of India throughout the year 1921.

During the course of the year 1920, the Soviet Government of Russia, while voicing uncompromising hostility to the British Commonwealth, had directed all its energies towards recapturing that advantageous position in Central Asia which had been lost subsequently to the October

**Bolshevik Activities in
1920.**

revolution of 1917. The success achieved was remarkable. The Soviet system quickly spread to the new Republics set up after the downfall of the Tsarist regime, with the result that the Russian position in Transcaucasia and Turkistan was for the moment rapidly reconsolidated. The way was open for aggressive activities in the Persian, Afghan, and ultimately it was hoped, in the Indian, spheres. The autumn of 1920 saw further progress : Georgia was overrun ; the Amirate of Bokhara subdued and Bolshevik penetration into Northern Persia deeply advanced. The rising tide of Russian power excited considerable apprehension in Afghanistan, with the natural consequence that the Russian emissaries were successful in concluding a draft treaty, which seemed to secure for their country a valuable advance base for the subversion of India by their propaganda. Towards the end of the year, however, the striking success of the Soviet Government in Central Asia underwent some serious reverses. The ratification of the Treaty of Sèvres and the Greek victories over Turkish nationalist forces, while they alarmed Islamic feeling, did much to discredit the power of Russia. The failure of the Bolshevik invasions of Poland and the counter invasion by the Poles of Russian territory, seemed to show the weakness of the Soviet Government. Moreover, the impression produced upon the Islamic world by the subversion of a Muslim State so old and so well established as Bokhara, did not fail to exercise an influence unfavourable to Russia. The Muhammadan inhabitants of Transcaucasia and Turkistan, groaning beneath Bolshevik oppression, broke into sporadic revolts, which were bloodily stamped out with a brutality which convinced the most sanguine believers in an alliance between Bolshevism and Islam of the contrast between Communist theory and Communist practice. The result of these various happenings was felt in India, when the Amir of Afghanistan invited a British delegation to Kabul, for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of an Anglo-Afghan treaty.

As was pointed out in last year's Report, the Amir of Afghanistan occupies a position of no little difficulty. In comparison with Russia and India, his two great neighbours, his resources are comparatively small ; and he can afford to quarrel with neither unless assured of hearty support from the other. And, as fate would have it, about the time that the British delegation under Sir Henry Dobbs arrived in Kabul, the situation of the Bolsheviks began to show signs of temporary improvement. The failure of the Persian Parliament to ratify the projected Anglo-Persian Agreement

was hailed as a triumph for Soviet diplomacy. A further success followed. The Communists, by sacrificing in name the position of influence which Tsarist Russia had acquired in Persia, were able to secure a definite treaty with the Persian Government. Further west, Bolshevik forces had joined hands with the Turkish nationalist forces, who had now begun to win successes over the Greeks. Armenia was overrun and subjugated. At the same time, the internal difficulties of Bolshevik Russia were somewhat eased by the conclusion of peace with Poland. This rendered possible that concentration of Russian forces which resulted in the defeat of the counter revolutionary movement led by General Wrangel.

As might have been expected, this improvement in the fortunes of the Bolsheviks did not facilitate the progress of the negotiations in which Sir Henry Dobbs was engaged. For the Afghan authorities were

**The Anglo-Afghan
Negotiations.**

at first disposed to raise their terms to a height which made agreement difficult. In the early spring of 1921, however, the situation again changed. The Communist economy of Russia broke down so seriously as to endanger the whole stability of the Central Soviet Government. A serious, if abortive, rising blazed up in Southern Russia. Germany, who had raised high hopes in the breasts of England's enemies by her blustering attitude towards the Allied demand for reparation, suddenly collapsed like a pricked bubble, at the first display of Allied force. Eastward also, the situation temporarily deteriorated for the Bolsheviks. They quarrelled seriously with Mustapha Kamal over the division of Armenia and his refusal to "Bolshelize" the territory of Angora. To make matters worse, a new Greek offensive achieved considerable success. The pitiful breakdown of the "Muhajarin" movement of religious pilgrimage from India to Afghanistan, as related in last year's Report, greatly discouraged those who built high hopes upon the outbreak of religious disorders in India. Further, Islamic feeling in Central Asia,

**Ebb and Flow of
Soviet Fortunes.**

already alarmed for reasons indicated above, showed renewed symptoms of hostility towards Bolshevism, in proportion as the territories

over which the Soviet had recently acquired influence were one by one mercilessly exploited to relieve the internal needs of Russia. Afghan sentiment in particular was much excited by the arrival in the country of the ex-Amir of Bokhara; and by the pitiful tales of misery and oppression carried to Kabul by thousands of his late subjects. It was symptomatic at once of the weakness and of the perfidy of the Soviet Government

that although circumstances compelled the conclusion of a Trade Treaty with Great Britain, there was no cessation of the efforts made by Russian emissaries to secure the aid of the Afghans for the subversion of the independent tribes on the Indian border, and for the penetration into India of Bolshevik propaganda.

During the summer of 1921, the domestic difficulties of the Soviet Government increased in terrible measure. Plague, pestilence and famine overran the unfortunate population of European Russia.

Allied aid, at first contemptuously spurned, was before long implored with the vehemence of despair. But if the foundations upon which the Central Soviet Government rested were lamentably weak, its advance agents in no wise desisted from their labours. Their efforts in Afghanistan were aided by two principal factors. Both the recent triumph of the Turkish nationalist forces over the Greek invaders, and the uneasy internal situation of India, could not but exercise an influence upon the judgment of the Amir's advisers. At a heavy price in money and materials, the Soviet Government succeeded in securing the ratification at Kabul of a Russo-Afghan Treaty which they hoped might provide them with the channels they so ardently desired for conveying their corrosive propaganda into India. At the worst, they hoped that the Russian Consulates they were to secure under the Treaty so near to India as Kandahar, Ghazni and Jalalabad, would prevent the immediate establishment of that close amity and friendliness between the Amir and India, which it was the desire of all true friends of Afghanistan should be concluded.

But as time drew on, the terrible weakness of Russia could no longer be concealed. Moreover the firmness of the Government of India in its dealings with the recalcitrant Mahsuds and Wazirs—of which more later—was probably not without its effect upon Afghan opinion. However this may be, the discussions between the British delegation and the Amir's Government steadily gravitated towards the conclusion of a treaty, if not of close friendship, at any rate of neighbourly relations. Satisfactory written assurances having been given by Afghanistan that Russian Consulates—that is, of course propaganda bases—should be excluded from the neighbourhood of the Indo-Afghan Frontier, the way seemed open to fruitful negotiations. After the delays and difficulties insuperable from the conduct of intricate diplomacy, a Treaty was accordingly signed by representatives of Afghanistan and Great Britain on the 22nd

of November 1921. The terms of this document will be found in an Appendix ; it is here sufficient to say that the two Governments agreed to respect one another's internal and external independence ; to recognise boundaries then existent, subject to a slight readjustment near the Khyber ; to receive Legations at London and Kabul and Consular officers at Delhi, Calcutta, Karachi, Bombay and Kandahar and Jalalabad respectively. The Afghan Government are allowed to import free of customs duty such material as is required, for the strengthening of their country. So long as the British are assured that the intentions of the Afghans are friendly, this proviso applies to arms and ammunition also. The export of goods to British territory from Afghanistan is permitted, while separate Postal and Trade conventions are to be concluded in the future. Further, each party undertakes to inform the other of major military operations in the vicinity of the border line.

The close of the year 1921 thus witnessed a distinct advance in the relations of Afghanistan with India and the British Empire. The open hostility which marked the accession of the present Amir has given place to neighbourly sentiment, based on an appreciation of the advantages of amity between neighbouring States. How the present position will develop, must depend to a large extent on external factors. But it is permissible to hope that the future will see the establishment of something like the former close friendliness which for so many years served alike the interests of India and of Afghanistan.

During the greater part of 1921 the uncertainty of relations between the two countries exercised a considerable influence over the affairs of the Border. As compared with the year 1920, which reaped the harvest of hostilities with Afghanistan following upon the reaction of the great war, the conditions of the frontier in 1921 showed some improvement. None the less, the situation along the whole border continued to be one of delicacy, and in Waziristan itself, one of great difficulty. The failure of the spring rains caused the severest scarcity felt in the border regions for 20 years. In some districts indeed, the rain which fell in July and August 1921 was the first which had been seen for 18 months. This factor made for a certain measure of peace on the Frontier. While the course of the negotiations in Kabul was eagerly watched by the tribesmen, the general opinion was soon formulated that Afghanistan, which was also suffering from scarcity, would not break off relations with the Indian Government. Further, as time wore on, it was apparent that there would be no concessions for the erring tribes on the British side of the

Durand line. Generally speaking therefore, the condition of the North-West Frontier as a whole during 1921 was fairly satisfactory for a region in which the elements of discord and strife are continually present. Waziristan must be excepted, however, even from this qualified statement. Mention was made in last year's report of the punitive action undertaken against the Mahsuds and the Wazirs. The continued misbehaviour of these stubborn tribes and their intolerable raiding into the settled districts of British India have led during the years 1920-21 to a careful scrutiny of our relations with them. Ever since the British Government inherited from the Sikhs the task of controlling Waziristan, and especially since Amir Abdurrahman formally recognised it as lying within our sphere, an attempt has been made to follow the policy of non-interference. Two lines of Militia posts along the Tochi in the north and towards Wano in the south

**British Policy in
Waziristan.**

have indeed been held for the purpose of checking raids upon the settled inhabitants of India and upon the caravan traffic proceeding up and down the Gomal. But to this end militia recruited from the Wazirs and Mahsuds themselves was mainly employed. There was no interference with the internal affairs of the tribesmen and beyond the grant of subsidies intended to enable their maliks to keep the young bloods from raiding, the British Administration has had as little to do with them as possible. But the hope that if they were left alone they would leave British India alone has proved fallacious. On an average every four years their repeated misdeeds have necessitated punitive operations of major or minor importance. Since 1852 there have been 17 of these military operations and since 1911, four. All have been occasioned by deliberate aggression on the part of the tribesmen, who have ravaged the plains whenever they saw an opportunity. During the Great War and the Afghan war of 1919, their depredations grew bolder and more intolerable than ever before; and after the signature of peace with Afghanistan, they absolutely refused the lenient terms offered them by the British Government, who desired to avoid a campaign. During the year 1920, punitive operations involving severe fighting had to be undertaken against the Mahsuds. By May 1920 active fighting on a large scale was over and the end of the year saw our troops firmly established at Laddha in the heart of the Mahsud country within easy striking distance of the important centres of Makin and Kaniguram. During the remainder of the year, a number of the Mahsud sections outwardly acquiesced in our presence and

submitted to our terms. Towards the close of 1920, operations were undertaken against the Wana Wazirs. Wana was occupied and certain of the militia posts which had been abandoned since the disturbances following the Afghan war of 1919 were re-garrisoned. The Wana Wazirs, however, received no severe lesson, since our advance into their country had been practically unopposed. None the less, although the British forces occupied a dominating position in the heart of their country, their submission was more nominal than real.

Unfortunately, a survey of border affairs from north to south will show how difficult is the task of reducing this unruly tract even to the semblance of order. North of Waziristan, it is true, the position was better than in the preceding year. Taking first the Khyber region,

Survey of Border Affairs.

The Khyber. it is to be noticed that the general tone of the Afridis showed marked improvement. At the end of the year 1920, many of the fines demanded were still unpaid and the quota of rifles to be surrendered was still lacking, but early in the year 1921 the majority of the sections completed their settlement. The Khyber railway scheme, which had been propounded to the Afridis towards the end of 1920, readily attracted tribal labour and there was competition to secure contracts on the line. Similarly the scheme of garrisoning the Khyber Pass with Khassadars—that is tribal levies raised and commanded by headmen and armed with their own weapons—quickly achieved popularity. Congenial and well paid work on the Khyber Road and Railway and in the garrisoning of the Pass; the renewal of tribal allowances conditional upon good conduct; and the re-enlistment in restricted numbers of Afridis in the Army; helped largely in the amelioration of the situation. Anti-British agitation among the Afridi tribes was still kept up under the leadership of notorious firebrands, who, however, were strongly opposed by the pro-British members of the tribe. On the whole the year 1921 closed with a situation more satisfactory in the Khyber and Afridi territories than had been the case for some time. Further south, in the Kohat

Kohat and Kurram Areas. and Kurram areas, there was a good deal of disturbance during 1921. Serious offences in particular were committed by the Khojal Khel Wazirs, which necessitated vigorous counter measures. Of these the most important were the destruction of certain of their villages. Before the end of the year this section had come to terms with Government and had almost settled their accounts. Other sections of the Wazirs living between

the Tochi and the Kurram were active in raiding into British territory during the year. In addition to highway robbery, cattle lifting, and burglary, which were freely practised, the most vexatious form of raiding and the one on which they concentrated most of their energies, was the kidnapping of individuals on the plains for the purpose of holding them to ransom. These operations were conducted on a systematic scale, and here were regular prisons in which the unfortunate captives were confined until the money demanded for their release was forthcoming. Punitive operations directed against the most notorious of these clearing houses were successful in enabling several kidnapped persons to make their way back to their villages. The nuisance, however, continued, though on a diminishing scale, throughout the year.

In Waziristan there was almost continual trouble during 1921. The Wazir and Mahsud tribesmen who refused to make their peace with Government were supported both with arms and with money by certain anti-British elements, chief among whom was Haji Abdur Raziq, and Mullah Bashir from the Chamarkhand colony of Hindustani fanatics. These irreconcilables strove to keep alive the opposition to the British Government and to prevent any settlement taking place. In their efforts they unfortunately met with considerable success, despite the fact that our troops were firmly stationed in the Tochi area with

Northern Waziristan. Dardoni as the strong post and that the intermediate points down to Bannu were occupied.

A regular campaign had to be conducted against the gangs who made their living by kidnapping British subjects and raiding the villages in the plains. This was not unsuccessful: and when at the beginning of December, a column went from Dardoni to Datta Khel to assist the political officer to instal the North Waziristan Scouts in the fort, the move met with no opposition. Later on in the same month, however, considerable casualties were inflicted upon a convoy returning from Datta Khel down the Spinichilla Pass. The state of affairs in Central Waziristan was even more disturbed. A- already noticed our troops

Central Waziristan. at the beginning of 1921 were established at

Laddha and a number of the Mahsud sections were apparently acquiescing in our terms. But here also there were many irreconcilables, as well as adventurous spirits among the friendlies who were quick to take advantage of any situation favourable to themselves. It was difficult to prevent large parties of raiders from collecting in the extremely broken country and launching unexpected attacks on our

convoys. Among the most notorious of the local recalcitrants was Musa Khan, who all throughout the first half of 1921 carried out an intensive campaign against our communications. In March and April almost daily attacks were made upon convoys and pickets, causing considerable loss in men and in transport animals. These attacks were pressed home with the greatest courage and tenacity. In June however the situation was somewhat altered by the arrival at Laddha of two six-inch howitzers. A steady daily bombardment of the vicinity continued up to the middle of September. The Abdullai sub-section, over whom Musa Khan presided, being unable to cultivate their crops, were compelled to desert their homes and take refuge in the numerous caves in the hills. For a time the more stout-hearted continued to harass our lines of communication and gave considerable trouble. But they gradually tired, and towards the end of September the whole section commenced to negotiate for peace. A final settlement was concluded on the 29th of December and a temporary cessation of the Abdullai opposition thus resulted. In Southern Waziristan,

as already noticed, the beginning of 1921 saw our troops still at Wana. As the fighting in the course of our advance had not been severe, the Wana Wazirs were still inclined to listen to the blandishments of the Anti-British party. In February it was therefore found necessary to destroy certain villages, and the country west of Wana was swept in a most comprehensive manner. This operation led to the gradual collapse of opposition. The antagonism of the tribesmen was considerably reduced in June; and on the 14th of September our terms were accepted and the Wana Wazirs signed a treaty. Subsequently to its signing, our regular troops were removed from Wana and their place was taken by Khassadars. By the 21st of December the whole force had withdrawn to Jandola and the Wana column, which had been in existence since the end of 1920, was broken up.

Crossing the Gomal valley to the South, we notice that the condition of affairs in Baluchistan during the year

South of the Gomal. 1921 has been on the whole not unsatisfactory. The presence of a British mission in Kabul early began to exercise a tranquillising effect, and although the settlement of Waziristan, as we have seen, was a matter of difficulty, the first months of 1921 were free from trouble. There was a cessation of raids in Zhob; many outlaws supposed to be irreconcilables began to come back; and the deserters and bad characters

who still remained had perforce to sit idle on the other side of the border waiting for permission to re-enter British territory. There were, however, some formidable raids from the Afghan side by certain colonies of refugees, who had been allowed to settle in Afghan territory by the Amir. In November a big gang, openly boasting of their intention to attack Pishin, crossed the border into British territory and succeeded in overwhelming a party of Indian infantry under two British officers. Both the officers and 40 men were killed and the remainder of the column wounded or taken prisoners. The raiders returned across the border in triumph with valuable loot in the shape of rifles and transport. This disaster synchronised with the signing of the Afghan treaty ; and as a result of the protest made by the chief of the British Mission, the Amir

Condition of Baluchistan. expressed his deep regret at what had occurred and promised to punish the offenders. The administration of Baluchistan has many excellent features. In its councils of elders, both local and provincial, it enjoys an admirable system of home-rule. There is a simple revenue system which everyone understands, and the people have easy access to British officials. The close personal relationship which exists between the administrative officers, both British and Indian, and the people themselves gives reality to popular influence and adds to the general contentment. During the period under review, the policy of associating the people as much as possible with the administration, of taking their advice through their councils of elders not only upon tribal matters but upon larger questions of policy, and of giving them additional responsibility, has been steadily pursued. There was no political disturbance of any sort during 1921 ; and although the people of Baluchistan were fully alive to the possibilities of the political development they unmistakably showed that they prefer steady advance along the lines to which they have been accustomed to the specious projects of outside political reformers. But there is not the slightest doubt that if the opportunity arose, and there was a weakening of the central power, the virile inhabitants of Baluchistan would readily turn their energies towards raiding into India.

During the period under review, a considerable amount of attention has been directed towards the frontier administration by the general public of India. Mention **The Border and the Public.** was made in last year's report of the abnormal number of dangerous and destructive raids which were carried out by the tribesmen upon peaceful inhabitants of the North-West Frontier Province. The unrest which has swept up and down our borders is in a large degree a heritage from

the third Afghan war of 1919. But there have been at work other forces including the general disquiet consequent upon the world struggle; the presence in tribal areas of a large number of deserters from the Army; the perennial economic pressure of growing populations on land too poor to feed them; and the inevitable excitement caused by the military misfortunes of Turkey as mirrored in the glass of Indian political agitation. During the year 1919-20, as we saw, no fewer than 611 raids had taken place in the settled districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. This resulted in the killing of 298, the wounding of 392, and the kidnapping of 463 British subjects. Property estimated at a (probably exaggerated) value of Rs. 39 lakhs was looted. During the year 1920-21, fortunately, the number of these outrages decreased to 291. At the same time, 153 persons were killed, 157 persons injured, and 56 persons kidnapped and returned on payment of ransom. Property to the value of some 2 lakhs was looted. While therefore the administration had some success in reducing the number of raids and outrages, as proved by these figures, the fact remains that much suffering and loss is still inflicted by the tribesmen upon British subjects. In consequence, bitter complaints have appeared in

**The Administration of the
North-West Frontier
Province.**

the press as to the inadequacy of the present system of protection. Further in a time of financial stringency, force has been lent to these complaints by the heavy expenditure shown in the Budget of the North-West Frontier Province. The revenues of the province have indeed increased from Rs. 46 lakhs odd in 1903-04 to Rs. 70 lakhs odd in 1919-20; but the cost of administration has risen from Rs. 55 lakhs odd to Rs. 180 lakhs odd during the same period. Indeed the excess of expenditure over revenues amounted in the year 1920 to more than Rs. 109 lakhs, with the result that the province has been the cause of considerable expenditure from the Imperial treasury. While much weighty criticism has been directed, particularly in the Legislative Assembly, against this state of affairs, it is not always realised that the problem of the inhospitable frontier does not lend itself to cheap or easy solution. Expenditure on frontier defence is incurred not merely for the protection of the sorely harassed inhabitants of our border districts against trans-frontier lawlessness and raids; it is also incurred for the defence of India as a whole. At the same time, the ventilation of the whole question of border policy has led to inquiries as to the desirability of retaining or reversing Lord Curzon's separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab. This has been stimulated by the

belief among educated Indian opinion that the inhabitants of the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province are suffering both in their political advance and in their judicial administration by their association with a Government mainly concerned with the direction of comparatively uncivilised trans-frontier tribesmen. As a result of a resolution brought forward by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer in the Legislative Assembly in September 1921, a Committee has been appointed by the

**The Frontier Province
Committee.**

Government of India to examine the question of the North-West Frontier Province. It is much to be hoped that its report, which cannot fail to be of great weight, will satisfy Indian educated opinion as to the proper course to be pursued in the administration of the North-West Frontier Province.

**Public Opinion and
Defence Problems.**

As might naturally be supposed, the unquiet border, in combination with the uncertainty of India's relations with Afghanistan, served during 1921 to focus the attention of educated India more definitely upon the problems of defence than has for some time been the case. The stimulus so provided was undoubtedly enhanced first by the aggressive Pan-Islamism of certain Khilafat extremists, which aroused anxiety in their more peacefully-minded compatriots; and secondly, by financial stringency, which caused much attention to be devoted to the question of economy in the army as well as in other branches of the administration. Accordingly, during the year 1921, not merely in the public press but also in the central legislature, questions concerning defence assumed notable proportions. There was, on the one hand, a great demand for economy in military administration, in so far as this could be accomplished without damage to India's safety; on the other hand, there was a determination to assert India's claim to what may be called the "nationalisation" of the army. Now the total military grant for the year 1921-22 amounted to £62·2 millions (Rs. 62·2 crores). This bore so high a proportion to the total expenditure of the Central Government that criticism of a poignant character was directed, both in the

Demand for Economy.

legislature and outside it, against the existing military administration. In the somewhat natural impatience for economy, the fact was not realized by many Indian leaders that nowhere else in the world does a population so large as that of India pay so little per head as the price of its own defence. Bitter criticisms were made in connection with the military budget, and the necessity for retrenchment was freely urged. The authorities

were far from oblivious to the necessity for meeting, in such degree as their responsibility for India's safety permitted, the demand for economy. Indeed, as a result of the efforts of His Excellency Lord Rawlinson, a saving in the established charges of the Army amounting to no less than £1·29 millions (Rs. 1·29 crores) was effected in the course of the financial year. Unfortunately, as will be pointed out in another chapter, the cost of the unexpected continuance of operations in Waziristan more than swallowed up this saving, with the result that the revised expenditure on military requirements during 1921-22 comes to £65 millions (Rs. 65 crores).

Further, the reduction of the army in India to a post-war footing was steadily carried out, and 51 Indian infantry battalions, 7 Indian pioneer battalions, 6 Indian pack artillery batteries, and 40 units of sappers and miners, were disbanded during the period under review. Indian cavalry regiments were also reduced in number by amalgamation in pairs, from 38 to 24; and provision was made to reduce this total to 21 on the return of one regiment from overseas. Efficiency was also increased by the formation of Indian cavalry, infantry and pioneers into groups, each group consisting, in the case of infantry and pioneers, of a varying number of active battalions and one training battalion.

In addition to complaints against the cost to India of her defence charges, there was also during the year under review considerable criticism of what was regarded as a tendency to deprive India of control of her own forces. The Esher Report. Mention was made in last year's report of the conclusions formulated by the Committee presided over by Lord Esher to enquire into the Indian military system. As was previously pointed out, the Esher Committee believed that the survival in some form or other of the principle of an Imperial cabinet composed of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions was inevitable; and that this machinery would carry along with it some corresponding organization in the sphere of Imperial defence. Their recommendations had for a guide rule, consistency with three great principles; first, the control by the Government of India of Indian military forces; secondly, the assignment of due weight to the opinions of that Government on questions of Imperial defence; and thirdly, the exercise of a considered influence by the Imperial General Staff upon the military policy of the Government of India.

as upon that of the other Governments of the Commonwealth. During 1920 and 1921, Indian opinion did not understand that the structure

Criticism in India.

contemplated by the Esher Committee, in which the Army in India was to play its part as one unit of a co-ordinated whole, had not yet come into full existence. There was thus a confusion in the minds of many critics between the supreme direction of the military forces of the Empire in an organization such as that contemplated by the Esher Committee, and the system which is generally described as War Office control. In no circumstances, of course, are Indian political leaders likely to look with favour upon any policy which seems, however remotely, to deprive the Indian Government, over which they have legitimate aspirations for control, of unfettered direction of the Indian army. Accordingly, the Legislative Assembly in its first session directed much attention to the Esher Committee Report, and as a result of the examination

Attitude of the Legislative Assembly.

of this Report by a Committee of the Legislature, certain very important resolutions were moved defining the attitude of the Assembly towards certain of the main problems of army administration. The Assembly declared that the purposes of the army in India must be held to be defence against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity; that to the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organization, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date; but that for any other purposes, the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the self-governing dominions, and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as are applicable to those areas. The Assembly also repudiated the assumption, which it somewhat incorrectly believed to underlie the Report of the Esher Committee, that the administration of the army in India cannot be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire; and that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suitable to Imperial necessities. The Assembly further recommended that the army in India should not as a rule be employed for service outside India's external frontiers, except for purely defensive purposes, or with the previous consent of the Governor General in Council in very grave emergencies; provided that this should not preclude the employment on garrison duty overseas of Indian troops at the expense of His Majesty's Government, with the consent of the Government of India. Turning now to

questions of greater detail, the Assembly recommended that matters of supply should be entrusted to a Surveyor General of Supply, who would be a civil Member of the Commander-in-Chief's Military Council; that the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the General Staff in India should be appointed by the Cabinet, on the nomination of the Secretary of State for India in consultation with the Government of India and the Secretary of State for War; and that Army Commanders who were officers of the Indian Army should be appointed by the Secretary of State for India on the nomination of the Government of India. It was also recommended that the Government of India should consider the expediency of reducing the size of the administrative staff at Army Headquarters; and that as soon as circumstances permit, a committee, adequately representative of non-official Indian opinion, should be appointed to examine

The Army Requirements Committee.

and report on the best method of giving effect to the natural rights and aspirations of the people of India to take an honourable part in the defence of their country and prepare the country for the attainment of full responsible government which was being declared to be the goal of British policy: to consider the financial capacity of India to bear the burden of military expenditure: to deal with her claim to equality of status and treatment with the self-governing Dominions: and to consider the methods of recruitment for the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. Of equal importance with the foregoing resolutions were the expressions of a desire that Indians should be freely admitted to all arms of His Majesty's military, naval and air forces in India, and that not less than 25 per cent. of the King's commissions granted every year should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects, to start with. The Assembly further recommended that adequate facilities should be provided in India for the preliminary training of Indians to fit them to enter the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and that as soon as funds were available, steps should be taken to establish in India a military college on the Sandhurst pattern, while steadily keeping in view the desirability of establishing in India training and educational institutions for other branches of the army. The Assembly further recommended that, in view of the need for the preparation of India to undertake the burden of self-defence as well as in the interests of economy, serious efforts should be made to organize and encourage the formation of an adequate territorial force, on attractive conditions; to introduce in the Indian Army a system of short colour service, followed by a few

years in the reserve ; and to carry out gradually a prudent reduction of the ratio of the British to the Indian troops.

The importance of these resolutions lies not merely in the far-reaching character of the aspirations they voice, but also in the evidence which they afford as to the increasing interest of the edu-

Significance of these Resolutions. educated classes in the problems of India's defence. It is perfectly true that, for several decades in India, the accusation has been freely brought against the Government that it was attempting to emasculate the people of India by depriving them of opportunities for training in the use of arms. The plain truth about this accusation is, indeed, that those who have raised it do not as a rule belong to classes which have displayed either martial inclination or martial aptitude. This afforded some reason to believe that it was raised rather as a political catch-word than as a serious attempt to bring pressure upon the administration to take action in the desired direction. In point of fact, for a good many

"Emasculation" and Defence. years prior to the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, there has been very little real interest on the part of educated India either in army administration or in the problems of Indian defence. There was a general tendency to treat these matters as outside the sphere of ordinary political life. In part, there can be no doubt, this attitude was a heritage from the time when as a result, probably, of the apathy of Indian political leaders, and their absorption in matters which seemed to affect them more nearly, the Government of India took less trouble to explain to the public the danger of the external aggression to which the country was from time to time exposed. However this may be, the habit of mind has now changed. To some extent in consequence of the debates in the Legislative Assembly during 1921, and still more as a result of the increasing influence of the spirit which these debates expressed, there has come over the constitutional party among educated Indians a very real desire to understand the military situation of their own country and to take their own share in the solution of military problems. Government has gone far to meet this desire. Systematic attempts have been made,

Publicity. in the first place, to break down the wall of secrecy with which army affairs had in past years been surrounded. A close touch is now maintained with the press and, through the press, with the public, in connection with all matters in which the public is interested. Further, a genuine effort has been

made to establish an Indian territorial force on a thoroughly satisfactory basis, giving due attention to those causes which had prevented the opening of the Indian Defence Force to Indians from producing an appreciable response during the war years. As a result, the Indian territorial force is beginning to develop along promising lines. In

The Territorial Force. the United Provinces, enrolment is proceeding for the 1st (territorial force) battalion of the 2nd Rajput Light Infantry; and it is believed that during 1922-23 at least 2 more units can be formed in this area. In the Punjab, there are territorial force battalions of the 25th Punjabis and of the 62nd Punjab. Madras has a territorial force battalion of the 73rd Carnatic Infantry, and applications so largely exceed the establishment that proposals to form a second battalion are under consideration. A territorial force battalion has also been constituted for the 75th Infantry, and training is commencing forthwith. Two other units, a territorial force battalion of the 79th Carnatic Infantry, and a territorial force battalion of the 83rd Walajabad Light Infantry have been proposed, and it is understood that these can be completed during the coming financial year. In Bombay, there are territorial force battalions of the 103rd Maratha Light Infantry and of the Bombay Pioneers. In Burma and Bengal enrolment is proceeding for a territorial force battalion of the 70th Burman Infantry and of the 94th Russell's Infantry, respectively. There has also been displayed considerable activity in the formation of

University Training Corps. University Training Corps. There are battalions in Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon; companies in Lahore, Patna and Benares. The organization of these University Corps is modelled on that of the Officers' Training Corps in England. Training is conducted by means of drills at least twice weekly throughout the University terms, and of a short period in camp every year. During the year also progress has been made in the recruitment of Indian youths for King's Commissions. Considerable criticism has been directed in the public press against the small number of Indians who have succeeded in securing admission to

King's Commissions. the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. During the last two years, however, 25 cadetships have been secured, and considering some of the difficulties attending the experiment, if only on account of its novelty, the progress achieved cannot be considered negligible. The Government of India aim at giving more and more of these commissions to Indians if and when the experiment proves a success; but as was pointed out by Sir Godfrey

Fell in the Legislative Assembly, experience has yet to show how the Indian officers will care to serve under the young King's Commissioned officers; how the young men will bear the hard, dull work in peace, without which efficiency cannot be attained; and whether they are prepared to share in the drudgery as well as in the rewards which fall to the lot of their British comrades. In this connection, it is significant that the Legislative Assembly in the course of its deliberations, refused to recommend a higher percentage than 25 of the yearly King's Commissions for Indian subjects, and rejected an amendment to the effect that there should be an increasing proportion in subsequent years.

Among the causes of the growing popularity of the Territorial Force movement, and of the increasing interest in defence-questions among the educated classes, must be reckoned the uneasy condition of India during the period under review. This topic will be considered in greater detail elsewhere; and it is here only necessary to point out that riots and disorders have inspired many peaceful citizens of India with the desire to offset by military training the disadvantages under which they now labour, in times of public excitement, as compared with lawless and violent sections of the population. Particularly noteworthy in this connection was the influence exerted by the terrible Moplah rebellion in Malabar. With the political causes of this outbreak we shall deal in a subsequent chapter. We are here concerned with the military aspect, which not only brought home to thousands of persons in Southern India the practical value to themselves of the Army, but also induced many to throw their weight into the scale of law and order by joining the Territorial Force.

The rebellion in Malabar was due to the influence of Khilafat agitation among the fanatically inclined Moplah inhabitants of the area. The outbreak, when it occurred, took a very formidable shape from the start. The rebels aimed at the complete overthrow of law and order and intended to establish an independent Khilafat kingdom in Malabar. They swiftly terrorised all the inhabitants of the affected areas and indulged in wholesale murders and forcible religious conversions of the local Hindu communities. With the exception of certain number of rifles and shot guns captured by them in the first few days of the rebellion from isolated police posts and Europeans, they had few firearms and were armed for the greater part with swords. But the country was eminently suited

to the guerilla tactics which they soon adopted. Close cultivation alternating with thick jungle afforded ample scope for ambushes and a safe retreat after committing depredations. The Ernad and Walluvanad Taluqs were the centre of the storm; but at one period the trouble might easily have spread considerably farther afield. The jungle-clad slopes of the Nilgiris constituted a sure refuge for hard pressed bands, from which only starvation could feasibly dislodge them.

About the middle of August the situation in Malabar became distinctly serious, and additional troops were moved to Calicut. On the 20th of August open rebellion broke out at Tirurangadi at the conclusion of a search for arms conducted by the Police assisted by troops. A small detachment of troops was isolated at Malaparam and the troops at Tirurangadi had to fight their way back. On the 28th of August the detachment at Malaparam was relieved by columns from Bangalore and Calicut.

The rebellion had now spread over most of the Ernad and Walluvanad Taluqs and the rebels were indulging in wholesale murder, arson and forcible conversions of Hindus. Every effort was made in the first instance to cope with the situation by means of the troops available in the Madras district. A modified form of martial law was introduced and a special force of armed police was raised. In the initial phases the Auxiliary Force both individually and collectively proved of great value.

Up to the beginning of October, operations were mainly confined to localising the rebellion by distributing garrisons in convenient centres and dealing with rebel bands, whenever they could be discovered, by mobile columns. These efforts were up to a point successful and the spread of the rebellion into the Wynad and to the north of the Beypore river was checked. On the other hand the large numbers of rebels in the affected areas; the difficulty of the country; and the fact that either from inclination or by reason of terrorisation the whole countryside was openly hostile, made it imperative to provide reinforcements to deal with the situation.

By the middle of October all these reinforcements, totalling four battalions, one pack battery, a section of armoured cars and the necessary ancilliary services, had arrived, and a severer form of martial law had been introduced—a

Its suppression.

factor which greatly facilitated the handling of the situation by the Military authorities. It now became possible to conduct a drive right through the affected area. The result of this drive was at first disappointing, as the rebels for the greater part evaded combat and took to the hills. On the conclusion of the drive, however, the whole area was divided into five sections. To each of these sections a battalion was allotted for the purpose of dealing with all rebels within its section, and it was soon found that the back of the rebellion had been broken. Rebels began to surrender in large numbers, and after being blockaded in the hills either came down to fight or gave themselves up. By the end of the year the situation was well in hand, and as a matter of fact, by the 25th of February 1922, it had become possible to withdraw martial law and all the extra troops employed with the exception of one battalion.

The troops had an extremely difficult duty to perform ; and the way in which they did their duty was beyond all praise. Co-operation between the civil and military authorities was throughout most harmonious, and contributed largely to the comparative shortness of the time which it took to suppress the rebellion. An idea of the fierceness of some of the fighting may be gained from the night attack at Pandikad, on which occasion a company of Gurkhas was rushed at dawn by a horde of fanatics who inflicted some 60 casualties on the Gurkhas and were only beaten off after losing some 250 killed. Throughout the campaign, casualties among our troops totalled 43 killed and 126 wounded ; while the Moplahs lost over 3,000 in killed alone—a fact which testifies eloquently to the pitch of fanaticism to which they had been roused. The measures adopted by Government for the suppression of this formidable rebellion were generally approved, and provoked few complaints even in the more violent section of the Indian press. There was however one distressing occurrence, namely, the death by asphyxiation on the night of November 19th, 1921, of some 70 prisoners who were being conveyed by train from the disturbed areas to Bellary for incarceration. This incident was made the subject of a special enquiry, the report of which is still under consideration ; and meanwhile compassionate allowances were made to the families and dependents of the unfortunate rebels. On the whole it is fair to say that the terrible Moplah outbreak brought home to many people the ultimate dependence of law and order upon the military arm, and demonstrated to them in a most practical manner the value of a loyal, efficient, and well-disciplined army.

Perhaps one of the most encouraging symptoms of the year 1921, from the point of view of army administration, has been the readiness on the part of certain members of the Legislative Assembly to devote

Education of Public Opinion.

the utmost care and attention to a painstaking investigation of the problems of the Indian Army. This fact cannot fail to result, in the long run; in the education of Indian opinion to an appreciation of the true facts of the problems of India's defence. The Committee appointed in accordance with the resolution of the Legislative Assembly, already mentioned, to investigate these problems contained a substantial proportion of elected Indian members. Its sessions excited considerable interest, and there can be little doubt that the decisions of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee of Imperial Defence to consider its recommendations will be awaited with the utmost eagerness.

Throughout the period under review, much attention has been given to the well-being of Indian officers and soldiers. During his recent visit to India,

The well-being of the soldier.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales opened a military college at Dehra Dun, which is to prepare candidates for admission to Sandhurst on the lines of an English public school. His Royal Highness also laid the foundation stone at Delhi of a college, to be known as Kitchener College, which is intended to provide education of a High School type for sons of Indian officers. For the sons of Indian soldiers, education is to be provided at the King George's Royal Indian Military Schools, for two of which, at Aurangabad Serai and Jullundur, His Royal Highness laid foundation stones early in 1922. Further, machinery has been instituted for the systematic enlightenment of the sepoy as to his duties both as a soldier and as a citizen. During 1921, the formation of an Indian Army educational corps was sanctioned, and before long it is hoped that the influence of the personnel trained at the Belgaum School of Education will make itself felt in units. As a result of these increased facilities, a higher standard of education will shortly be demanded from the sepoy, in the attainment of which not only the trained experts of the Indian Army educational corps but also the regimental personnel will be expected to co-operate. At first, progress will naturally be slow, and much discretion will be left to Commanding Officers regarding the working of the new scheme. But a few years of steady effort on these lines, undertaken with good will and intelligence, should considerably enhance the civic value of the Indian soldier. Corresponding progress has also been made in the new system of education

for the British army in India. The principle that regimental officers and non-commissioned officers are now responsible for the educational training of their men has been generally recognized, and much good work is being done in units by these means. While there is ample scope for the trained personnel of the Army Educational Corps to guide and supplement the work of the regimental officer, the need for decentralization in the actual teaching can only be adequately met by the efforts of the latter. The co-operation indeed of regimental officers in educational work assumes a new importance, in view of the threatened reduction in numbers of the Army Educational Corps through financial stringency.

As has already been pointed out, that which may be called the keynote of the Esher Committee's Report, namely, the application to the problems of the army in India of the "General Staff Idea," has fallen discordantly upon Indian ears. This was partly due to the unfortunate estrangement of feeling between the administration and the educated classes through causes partly external to India and partly domestic, as will be explained in the next chapter. It would be unfair, however, to exclude from reckoning the lamentable strain which had been placed upon the ties of affection between India and certain other parts of the Commonwealth through a succession of unfortunate occurrences.

The condition and fortunes of Indian settlers in various parts of the

Immigration.

Empire still continue to excite grave anxiety. The principal points at issue, it may be explained, are throughout the Empire, the right of franchise and the conditions under which Indians can immigrate and obtain and retain 'Domicile;' and in Africa further, the rights of Indians to hold land: to enjoy trading facilities: to escape from compulsory segregation—in other words to be treated as rational human beings. For some years, the denial of these rights, either wholly or in part, by certain Dominions and Colonies, has been the cause of much heart-burning to India. The efforts of the Government of India to remedy such grievances have been at once sustained and unwearying: while progress towards a more satisfactory condition of affairs, if slow, has been steady. It will be remembered that as a result of the arguments of India's representatives in the Imperial War Conferences of 1917 and 1918, the so-called "Reciprocity Resolution" was adopted by the Mother Country and the Dominions. This Resolution while affirming the right of each community of the Commonwealth to control, by immigration restrictions, the composition of its own population, recommended that facilities should be given to

Indians for visits and temporary residence ; that Indians domiciled abroad should be permitted to import their wives and minor children : and that the removal of the civic and social disabilities to which these Indians were subjected should be given early consideration. Canada and Australia took early steps to put this resolution into effect. In New Zealand and Newfoundland, it may be noticed, resident Indians have never been subjected to any disabilities ; but the former Government, while endeavouring to adhere to the terms of the Reciprocity Resolution, has subsequently passed an Immigration Act which may be used to restrict further Indian immigration. The main trouble lies, however, not in these parts of the Empire, where the number of Indians is comparatively small ; but in South Africa, and also, it must regretfully be emphasised, in certain Colonies under the direct administration of His Majesty's Government. Despite the "Reciprocity Resolution," the position of Indians domiciled in these localities still remains the

Indians abroad. reverse of satisfactory. In South Africa, where the Indian population is numerous,

a decision of the Transvaal Provincial Court early in 1920 had endangered certain rights which, it was hoped, had been secured beyond dispute by the agreement arrived at in 1914 between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi. It should be understood that no difficulties arise in the Orange River Province where Asiatic Immigration is not allowed, or in the Cape Province, where Cecil Rhodes' policy of "equal rights for every civilised man" prevails. The trouble occurs in the Transvaal, where Indians are politically helpless ; and in Natal, where, although they possess the municipal franchise, their position has lately been the object of grave attack. In certain Colonies also conditions are far from satisfactory.

In East Africa, disputes had arisen between European and Indian Colonists concerning proposals for racial segregation in residential and commercial areas. In Tanganyika territory, it was feared that similar difficulties would occur ; while in Fiji, labour troubles culminating in violence led to the suspicion among certain people in India that the local authorities were hostile towards Indian labour. In short, throughout an alarming number of regions of the British Empire, Indians have found themselves exposed to difficulties and disabilities not only of themselves intolerable, but of a kind which threaten, by lowering their country's status in the eyes of the Empire and of the world, to prejudice her advance along the road leading to Responsible Government. It is difficult to exaggerate the potentialities of such a condition of affairs, which strikes at the very root of those ideas of

justice, fairplay and freedom upon which the solidarity of the British Commonwealth primarily depends. The national consciousness of India, quickened by the part she played in the War, by the new ideas of democracy and national rights which triumphed with the Allies, by her position as an original Member of the League of Nations, and by the advance which she has made in the last few months towards responsible government, cannot accept with equanimity the subjection of British Indians within the British Empire to disabilities of a humiliating character.

During the year 1921, as a result of the untiring efforts of the Government of India, considerable victories were gained not merely in details, but also in certain broad matters of principle. The able presentation of India's case by Sir Benjamin Robertson before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission in South Africa created a considerable impression, and went far both to offset the anti-Indian propaganda of the self-styled South Africans' League and to expose the fragility of the foundations upon which the popular conceptions of an "Asiatic Menace" really rested. When the Commission reported, it was seen that the representatives of the Government of India, while failing to achieve all that had been hoped, had undoubtedly effected an alteration of the position in favour of the domiciled Indian community. The Commission did, indeed, recommend retention of the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885, prohibiting the ownership of land by Asiatics; but there is to be no compulsory segregation. In the Transvaal and Natal, a system of voluntary separation is recommended under which Municipalities may be empowered to set aside separate residential and trading areas wherein Asiatics should be encouraged, but not compelled, to reside. Unfortunately, in respect of Natal, the Commission was of the opinion that there would be no great hardship in confining to the coast belt the right of Indians to acquire and own land. Dealing with the trading question, the Commission recommended the enactment of a uniform license law for the Union, or, failing this a consolidating Act of Parliament, which should apply to all trading licenses, whether held by "natives," Europeans or Asiatics. The suggestion of Sir Benjamin Robertson, that if the Union Government accepted the need of a more constructive policy towards Indians, the administration of Asiatic affairs should be entrusted to a responsible official enjoying the confidence of the Indian community, was favourably endorsed. The Commission went further, strongly recommending

the appointment of an officer whose business it should be to secure full statistical information on all matters specially affecting the domiciled Indians, to keep in touch with them, to safeguard their interests, and to give a ready ear to their complaints. The Government of India after considering the report of the Commission, earnestly protested against the withdrawal from Indians of the right to acquire lands in the uplands of Natal ; and on other issues also represented the Indian case strongly to the Union Government. It may be hoped that these representations will achieve at least some measure of success. An augury of better things is to be found in the recent veto, by His Excellency the Governor General of South Africa, of two Natal Ordinances which seemed likely to endanger still further the position of Indians. Thus it will be seen that while the situation of Indians in South Africa still remains far from satisfactory, something at least has been accomplished towards securing a favourable consideration of the justice of their claims. In this connection the achievements of the Indian Representatives at the Imperial Conference of 1921, as will shortly be apparent, cannot fail to exercise an influence which may, it is hoped, ultimately prove decisive.

Towards the disabilities of Indians resident in British Colonies, as distinguished from British Dominions, the
In Colonies. attitude of the Government of India has

from the first been uncompromising. There can be no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status inferior to that of any class of His Majesty's subjects. Unfortunately, in face of the hostility of the " white " settlers in certain localities, it is easier to press this standpoint upon the Home authorities than to secure its translation into practice on the spot. As a result of constitutional changes, unfortunately coincident with inter-racial animosities which raged in Kenya during 1920, the position of Indians resident in this part of East Africa became most difficult. A declared policy of racial disability and racial segregation, in addition to threatening large and well-established vested interests, bitterly outraged Indian national sentiment. Against this the Government of India vigorously protested in a detailed despatch to the Home Government, which raised all the questions of franchise, land-ownership, and segregation concerning which controversy had arisen. In consequence, pending the settlement of the franchise question, upon which everything else really depends, certain interim measures beneficial to the Indian community have been introduced. The Governor of Kenya has announced his

intention of nominating four Indians in place of two to his Legislative Council and of accepting an Indian Member upon his Executive Council. Questions of franchise, segregation and land-ownership are at present still undecided.

The position of Indians in Uganda and Tanganyika was also unsatisfactory at the beginning of the period under review.

In Uganda the root of the trouble was the application to this territory, without the previous knowledge of the Government of India, of Lord Milner's Kenya decisions. A strong protest was entered by the Indian authorities against the denial of the principle of equal representation to Indians, it being urged that the East African decisions were generally inapplicable to Uganda. Indeed, conditions differ very materially in the two Colonies, since Uganda has no elective Legislative Council, no elected Municipal Council, and no uplands to which "White" settlers can put forward exclusive claims. The extension from Kenya to Uganda of the Indian controversy is most unfortunate; since but for the racial issues raised by the Kenya decisions, the question of separate residential areas for different races would probably have been settled amicably by mutual consent. The Government of India asked for an assurance that disabilities to which Uganda Indians had not hitherto been subject, would not now be imposed upon them. But up to the moment of writing, no decision has been arrived at upon certain aspects of the question. In Tanganyika, for the administration of which Great Britain holds a mandate from the League of Nations, the position of Indians has lately given rise to some anxiety. Fears were expressed as to the possibility of an administrative union with Kenya. The Government of India accordingly, when addressing the Home authorities on the subject, asked that adequate safeguards should be granted against the development of an administrative system which might be apathetic or even hostile to legitimate Indian aspirations. They also expressed the hope that no obstacles would be placed in the way of Indians wishing to acquire land in Tanganyika on the same footing as the nationals of other Members of the League of Nations. It is satisfactory to note in this connection that large numbers of Indians have taken the fullest advantage of the facilities afforded for purchasing ex-enemy properties at Dar-es-Salam—a fact which seems to afford a useful precedent for an equitable solution of the same problem in other parts of the Empire. In the course of the year, assurances were received from Lord Milner that Indian settlers in the territory would be treated on a footing of complete equa-

lity with other settlers, and that no discrimination would be made in their disfavour. In New Guinea and Samoa, for the administration of which mandates have been conferred upon Australia and New Zealand the position of Indians has also been doubtful. But the Governments of Australia and New Zealand have promised full consideration to India's point of view, in the administration of the immigration laws which they have applied to the mandated territories. The Commonwealth Government has now given an assurance that such classes of British Indian subjects as are likely to come to New Guinea, will enjoy substantially the same rights both as to entry and residence as fall to the lot of other British subjects.

Closely connected with the whole problem of Indians resident abroad is the question of emigration. The assisted

Indentured Labour.

emigration of unskilled workers from India, has for some years been forbidden, save in the case of Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements. A Bill at present under the consideration of a Select Committee will apply to these territories also, which were excluded from the scope of the Act of 1908. In future, the assisted emigration of unskilled workers, whether under agreement or not, will be forbidden except with the consent of the Indian Legislature. The emigration of skilled workers will be permitted, as at present, subject to certain restrictions. But the Government of India will have the power to prohibit emigration to any specified country when there is reason to believe that conditions are unsatisfactory. This protective policy, necessitated by the unfortunate experiences of the past, has exposed certain Colonies to considerable economic difficulties. Mention was made in last year's Report of the arrival in India of non-official delegations from Fiji and British Guiana to investigate the possibility of introducing a scheme of assisted emigration. A Committee of the Indian Legislature, to whom the matter was referred, declined to make any definite recommendations, without the despatch of emissaries to undertake an examination of local conditions. In accordance with this expression of opinion, two deputations have left India to visit the Colonies in question. It may be noted that considerable satisfaction has been caused by an extension of the terms of reference of the Fiji deputation, which empowers it to enquire whether land suitable for settlement by deserving Indian officers and men is available.

The labour troubles in Fiji last year produced an unexpected result in India during the course of the period

Repatriation.

under review. It will be remembered that

as from January 1920, the Government of Fiji cancelled the indentures of Indian labourers, while arrangements were made for the early repatriation of such of them as desired to return to their own country. In consequence, large numbers left Fiji. Many arrived in India comparatively destitute; while others, who were colonial born or whose long residence in the Colonies had rendered them unfit for the old social conditions, found themselves utterly out of place—indeed foreigners—in their own country. Returned emigrants from other Colonies also, being in difficulties owing to the unfavourable economic situation in India, strongly desired to return to the territories from which they had come. During the early part of 1921 from all parts of India there was a steady drift of destitute and distressed labourers in the direction of Calcutta, where they hoped to find ships to take them back to the Colonies in which they were certain of work and livelihood. At the earnest representation of the Fiji Government, and after full consultation with representative public men, arrangements were made to relax the emigration restriction in favour of those Indians who were born and had property in any Colony, as well as of such near relations as they desired to take with them. Admirable work was done among these distressed persons by the Emigrants Friendly Services Committee which had been formed primarily to deal with the applications of repatriated Indians desirous of returning to Fiji. The Government of India gave discretion to this Committee to permit persons who could prove that they had been in Fiji to return there if they so desired. The Government of Fiji, on its part, encouraged by an improvement in local labour conditions, stimulated the return of these unfortunate people by giving them assisted passages. Similar steps were taken by the Government of British Guiana, when the situation was explained to them. From the Government of Trinidad and Surinam no offer of assisted passages was received, with the result that the burden of caring for persons desirous of return to these places has fallen upon India. The Legislative Assembly has made a grant of £1,000 for the maintenance of these labourers, until such time as they are able to find work and settle down in India.

In view of all these varied difficulties, primarily caused by uncertainty as to the rights and status of India's nationals overseas, it may well be imagined that the meeting of the Imperial Conference of 1921 was regarded by Indian opinion with an anxiety which even domestic distractions were powerless to supersede. The Conference before which

The Imperial Conference
of 1921.

India's claims were to be pressed, is no longer the purely consultative body of pre-war days. It partakes far more of the nature of an Imperial Cabinet, since it is now a mechanism for arriving at a united understanding and common action in affairs of moment to the Empire as a whole. In other words the Imperial Conference is no longer the tentative embodiment of an academic ideal; but has become a semi-executive body of great and growing importance. Fortunately enough India's representatives were eminently fitted to urge her case with strength, moderation and dignity. In addition to Mr. E. S. Montagu, whose reputation as a friend of India is acknowledged by almost every shade of political opinion in the country, the Indian representatives included the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Sastri—shortly afterwards elevated to the Privy Council—and His Highness the Maharao of Kutch. Both the utterances and the personality of the Delegation created an impression eminently favourable to the cause they advocated. India's claim to equality of treatment for her nationals derived added force when supported by Mr. Sastri's impressive eloquence and the shrewd sense of his princely colleague. The upshot of the discussions upon the position of Indians abroad marked a further stage in the vindication of India's claims for the civic rights of her nationals domiciled in other parts of the Empire.

The Imperial Conference, while reaffirming the principle that every community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population, recognised that "there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal Member of the Empire, and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire." The Conference therefore expressed its opinion that "in the interests of the solidarity of the Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised." This opinion was also endorsed explicitly by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who pronounced it the only ideal which the British Empire could set before itself. Such a principle, Mr. Winston Churchill continued, has to be very carefully and gradually applied; but he hoped to find means of overcoming difficulties in its application. The importance of this pronouncement needs no emphasis, in view of what has already been said of the position in Kenya and elsewhere. Unfortunately the representatives of South Africa expressed their inability to accept the resolution. Their refusal, disappointing as it was, in view of the number of Indian settlers adversely affected, cannot be considered as in any way final. The Resolution having been accepted by five out of the six States represented at the Conference.

the position of the dissentient sixth is bound to weaken by the mere efflux of time. Moreover the fact that direct negotiations relating to this matter will henceforth be conducted between the Government of India and the Union Government, is the best guarantee first that the question will not be suffered to rest ; and secondly, that from the broadly Imperial standpoint, the principle at stake is taken as settled.

In estimating the importance of the 1921 Imperial Conference, it must be remembered that representatives of India played a part exactly corresponding with that of the Dominions representatives. Indeed, for the purpose at least of the Conference, India achieved full Dominion status in her Imperial relations, thereby anticipating her acquisition of this status in domestic affairs. This change is explicit in the Resolution already quoted, which, besides embodying the readiness of the Dominions' representatives—with the exception of the South Africans—to accept the principle of citizenship for Indians domiciled within their boundaries, carefully recognises India's new status in the Commonwealth, and her claim to enjoy the rights pertaining thereto.

CHAPTER II.

The Early History of the Non-Co-operation Movement.

In the course of two successive Reports, mention has been made of the inception and early progress of the movement associated with the name of Mr. Gandhi. We saw how this remarkable individual came to the forefront of Indian politics through his inauguration of a campaign of passive resistance against the so-called Rowlatt Bill : how his project, later described by its author as a "Himalayan blunder," supplied the spark from which sprang the Punjab conflagration of 1919. Mention was also made of the fatal legacies left by this tragedy—embittered racial feeling, wounded national pride—which in conjunction with economic stress and postwar uneasiness, darkened the political firmament of India during the years 1919 and 1920. We noticed moreover that the latter year witnessed the introduction of yet another complicating factor into the disturbed public life of the country—the outburst of Muslim sentiment against the threatened partition of the Ottoman Empire. It was in this atmosphere of excited passions that Mr. Gandhi launched his movement of non-co-operation, the early stages of which were briefly described in the Report dealing with the condition of India in 1920. During the year 1921, this movement attracted considerable public attention : was the object of much acute analysis : assumed many characteristics of an unexpected kind. Materials are thus available for the presentation of an account, more complete than has hitherto been possible, of its precepts, practice, and results. In view, then, of the importance of the part it played in Indian affairs throughout the year 1921, no apology seems necessary for explaining in some little detail its rise and progress, even though certain aspects of these may fall somewhat outside the period immediately under review.

It must be realised that the whole non-co-operation movement possessed in the beginning, a definitely ethical basis, deriving at once its impetus and its characteristics from the personality of its originator.

Ethical Basis of Non-Co-operation.

nator, who will probably be recognised in future ages as an eminent disciple of the late Count Tolstoi. Indeed, it is necessary to recapitulate a portion of Mr. Gandhi's life in order to exhibit the principal clue, alike to his personality and to the nature of the non-co-operation movement as he originally projected it. For, apart from such an explanation, it is impossible to understand how Mr. Gandhi, with his spiritual fervour, has gradually become involved, to the infinite damage of his country and himself, in a movement the effect of which has been to lead unhappy India dangerously near the borders of anarchy. There is reason to believe that the extraordinary number and variety of programmes which he devised for the non-co-operation movement were in their essence designed, quite honestly and in perfect good faith, to obtain for it a measure of popular support such as the inherent intentions of its designer—which was no more and no less than national regeneration after the Tolstoyan model—would probably have failed, had they been manifest, to secure. Like his master, with whom he corresponded, Mr. Gandhi has long believed that modern civilisation, as the term is generally understood, represents a great deviation from the true nature of man: that the vast social and economic structure which has been built upon that increasing mastery over natural forces, resulting from the scientific discoveries of the 19th century, is wholly bad; that it is a burden upon the individual man, stifling him, crushing him down, subverting his noblest nature and aspirations. Mr. Gandhi has proceeded to deduce the

Mr. Gandhi's opinions. conclusions that Western education develops slave mentality; that doctors deepen degradation; that hospitals propagate sin; that Law Courts and legal practitioners unman those who resort to them; that Railways merely carry man away from his Maker; that Parliament is a costly toy; in short, that modern civilisation needs to be eradicated like a fell disease. The sole end of rightly directed human activity, he asserts, is the freedom of the individual soul. Government of the self, rather than "Self-Government"—philosophic anarchy, rather than constitutional progress: natural and primitive simplicity, rather than economic, political and industrial advance—these are the goals towards which mankind must press. Further, Mr. Gandhi believes that the only manner in which this desirable consummation can be attained, lies in the mastery of spiritual force over material might. Passive resistance, as practised in England by Non-Conformist opponents of the Education Act, convinced him of the power of this weapon to achieve ends of the kind which

he himself had in view. In South Africa, where he fought long and strenuously for the relief of the outstanding grievances of his domiciled countrymen, he proceeded to organise a passive resistance movement on a scale hitherto unknown. Leaving South Africa he returned to India with the intention of employing, on a still larger scale, and for still more comprehensive ends, the device which he had tested in South Africa. Cherishing the Tolstoyan simplicity of life as his ideal, Mr. Gandhi found much in India to amend. He believed his country-

Their Application to India. men to be suffering from spiritual and mental

torpor, induced by the hypnotism of Western civilisation. He saw them bitterly divided by the great Hindu Muslim cleavage ; he saw them, as he imagined, pursuing the Will o' the Wisp of constitutional progress. Primarily, there can be no doubt, it was to rescue his country from the degradation into which he conceived it had fallen, that Mr. Gandhi projected his remarkable movement. Many of his countrymen, while profoundly admiring his devotion and his selflessness, foresaw the disastrous effects which any such enterprise must produce, if applied to the heterogeneous peoples, races, and languages which make India what she is. Indeed the late Mr. Gokhale went so far as to bind Mr. Gandhi by a promise that he would refrain from launching his scheme until he had thoroughly satisfied himself of its practicability. Accordingly, not until after Mr. Gokhale's lamented death did Mr. Gandhi devote himself once more to exploring the chances of success which were offered by an enterprise so hazardous. The War supervened ; Mr. Gandhi was engaged in many activities of a social character ; and only with the coming of the year 1919 did he seriously resume his interrupted project. He launched his *Satyagraha* or passive resistance movement against the " Rowlatt Bill " ; and, though momentarily daunted by the appalling consequences, set himself with unflinching determination to prepare the ground for a renewed effort. The experience of 1919 seems

Necessity for Non-Violence.

to have taught him one thing and one thing only, namely that the rock upon which his scheme was in gravest danger of splitting was the readiness of the masses of his countrymen, when stirred by deep emotion, to resort to brutal and unreasoning violence. Accordingly, between the summer of 1919 and the autumn of 1920, he devoted himself to the ceaseless inculcation, among all those to whom his influence could penetrate, of the doctrine of non-violence. Only when he allowed himself to be convinced, against the opinion of the wisest and most prudent in India, that this work was accomplished, did he

prepare to launch out upon the movement of national regeneration which he had for so long contemplated.

There was, however, a further difficulty to be surmounted. By his service in South Africa ; by his orthodox austerity of life ; and by the stress he constantly laid upon the inherent perfection of the caste system, Mr. Gandhi had already acquired among his Hindu co-religionists that mantle of authority with which India traditionally loves to envelop a Saint. For the European critic must remember that every Hindu, no matter how westernised, ever retains in his heart of hearts a reverence for asceticism. Even educated gentlemen who play a prominent part in public life, cherish before them the ideal of worldly renunciation

Mr. Gandhi and the Hindus.

and retirement to the practice of individual austerities. It will thus readily be understood that Mr. Gandhi's reputation as a selfless ascetic constituted of itself a claim to leadership among Hindus. Indeed his insistence upon the supremacy of soul force in opposition to material might ; his advocacy of national fasting as a means of influencing Government ; his conviction of the irresistible power of passive resistance, have all three their logical basis in the ancient Hindu doctrine of *Dharma*, that is the application of moral pressure to one person through physical austerities voluntarily endured by another. But if he was to lead his countrymen to the haven of his desire, he must first bridge over the gulf dividing the two great communities ; he must first unite both in effort directed towards some common programme. For this purpose, it was above all things necessary that he, an "Unbeliever," should acquire among the Muhammadans an authority corresponding, in some measure at least, with that which he enjoyed among the Hindus. It is not therefore strange to find that from the time of its inception, the non-co-operation movement was given by Mr. Gandhi a distinctive Muhammadan bent. His opportunity

Mr. Gandhi and the Muhammadans.

arose from the introduction, into the cauldron of Indian politics, of an element more violent than any yet present in that seething mixture — the outburst of Muslim feeling consequent upon the publication of the draft Treaty of Sevres.

As to the ultimate origin of the intensive agitation in India directed towards the modification of the Turkish Peace terms, it is not easy to speak with certainty. In its inception, it appears to have originated among a certain section of advanced Muhammadan opinion whose views can broadly be described as Pan-Islamic and Pro-Turkish. Little by

little this section had succeeded in arousing the bulk of the Muhammadan community of India, uneducated as well as educated, to a lively if nebulous apprehension that the Christian powers of the world were about to perpetrate oppression of some kind upon Islam. This apprehension was considerably strengthened by the militant tone of certain

Origin of the Khilafat Movement.

sections of the English, French and American Press regarding the desirability of settling the Near Eastern question once and for all in the most drastic manner. The fact that Indian Muslims felt they had contributed greatly to the defeat of the Turks, naturally strengthened their desire that the terms of peace should accord with their own predilections. Here again, the long delay which elapsed between the Armistice and the announcement of the draft peace terms with Turkey was responsible for infinite harm. In the course of this period, religious intolerance, both Christian and Muslim, found full expression in the Press of the countries concerned. The result of a demand by influential sections of English and American opinion, that the Turks should be expelled from Constantinople and reduced to the status of a fourth rate power, was to strengthen considerably the hold which the Left Wing Party of Muslims in India were obtaining upon the bulk of their co-religionists. Fresh massacres in Armenia during the early months of the year 1920 called forth a passionate protest from Christian organisations both in Europe and in the United States. Anti-Turkish feeling in the West naturally produced its reaction in India, and ended in accomplishing what the small Pan-Islamic section of Indian Mussalmans had long attempted with but moderate success to achieve, namely, the consolidation of the whole of Indian Muslim opinion, Shiah as well as Sunni, into a united front for the support of Turkey's cause.

The seriousness of this movement did not escape the notice of the authorities, who did all that was humanly possible to allay the rising tide of religious feeling. But the extreme Pan-Islamic views of the leaders, combined, with the unpopularity of Government consequent upon the repression of the Punjab disorders, to render all these efforts nugatory.

Its progress.

In vain did the Government of India express its sympathy for the sentiment of the Muslims : in vain did it assure them that it was pressing their views upon His Majesty's Government. They had no desire to listen to reason ; did not leaders of their own faith assure them that Islam was in danger ? The restoration of Turkey to her full pre-war status : the re-imposition of her yoke over the emancipated Arabs and Armenians : the rendition of

Palestine, Syria, Thrace, and the Dardanelles—these were some of the demands put forward with the unarguable finality of an ultimatum.

Such was the situation of which Mr. Gandhi took advantage. Whether he saw in the Khilafat movement and seized upon, a lever for the overthrow of “civilised” society—as is maintained by certain of those who are most conscious of the ruin he has wrought to India : whether his own philosophic idealism hailed a kindred spirit in the uncompromising, reason-proof dogmatism of the Khilafat extremists : or whether his undoubted passion for Hindu-Muslim unity led him to embrace, as he himself said “such an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans as would not arise in a hundred years,” may well be a matter for dispute. An impartial survey of his activities, both previous and subsequent, suggests that all three motives may have been present to his mind. The fact at least is undisputed that he promptly made the Khilafat cause his own, accepted every demand—including the least reasonable—of the Khilafat party, and henceforward found in the Muslims the fighting arm of his campaign against the Government, which he stigmatised as “Satanic.”

It was in the Khilafat Conference of Delhi in November 1919 that Mr. Gandhi first proposed his non-co-operative remedy for the “Khilafat wrong.” Here he suggested that if the British Government and the Government of India remained deaf to the representations of those Indian Muslims who desired the restoration of the Ottoman Empire to its political and religious status, it might be necessary for all Indians whether Hindus or Muhammadans, to sever their connection with a power so deaf to the claims of things spiritual. A month later, with strange inconsistency, Mr. Gandhi spoke, at the Amritsar Congress, in favour of working the Reformed Constitution foreshadowed in the Government of India Act of 1919. But this phase did not last long. To the consternation of many of his co-religionists, he struck up a working alliance with Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the two Pan-Islam extremists who, after being interned during the War years for their open championship of the cause of Turkey, and persistent intrigues with the enemies of the Empire, had recently been released by Royal Clemency. He renounced his adhesion to the Reforms, set himself seriously to execute his long-deferred project of applying non-co-operation to India, and placed in the forefront of his aims, not the winning of Swaraj—whether of his own or of

any other type—but the satisfaction of Muslim opinion in the matter of the Khilafat.

Between January and March 1920, the scheme for a non-co-operation campaign was adumbrated in the columns of Mr. Gandhi's organ, "Young India." By the latter month, the programme had acquired a certain maturity. Subject to the overmastering consideration of non-violence, Mr. Gandhi advocated incessant agitation in carrying out certain prescribed activities. There was to be a complete cessation of business on the 19th March 1920, which was to be observed as a day of national mourning on behalf of Turkey. Persons holding high office in the Government were to resign as a protest against the injustice done to Muhammadan feelings. On the other hand, Mr. Gandhi denounced the idea of boycotting British goods—since boycott was, he said, a form of violence—and he declared that no appeal should be made to soldiers or policemen to resign from Government service. Two months later, he fixed four progressive stages for the execution of the non-co-operation campaign; the first was to be the resignation of titles and honorary offices; the second, the withdrawal from all Government service save Police and Military; the third, the withdrawal from the Police and the Military; the fourth, the suspension of payment of taxes to the State. Now in June 1920, it would seem, Mr. Gandhi

became conscious that his projected movement was likely to lose part of its support owing to the exclusively Mussalman complexion which he had assigned to its goal. Accordingly he extended its scope to cover, in addition to the satisfaction of Muslim opinion upon the Khilafat question, the satisfaction of Hindu opinion in the matter of the Punjab.

This he was enabled to do with great effect since educated Indian opinion had been deeply stirred by the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Congress to collect evidence relating to the Punjab disturbances. While this document, *ex-parte* as it was, seemed to many people inconclusive, it had produced a considerable effect upon the public mind. In particular, it had raised to a great height the popular expectation of what the official Report of Lord Hunter's Committee would contain in the way of censure upon the Punjab officials and the Punjab Government. But when that Report was published on May 28th, 1920, the more extravagant of these expectations, as was pointed out in "India in 1920," remained unfulfilled. Even the comments of

**Foreshadowings of
Non-Co-operation.**

Extension of the scope.

**Potency of the "Punjab
Grievance."**

His Majesty's Government, repudiating in solemn terms the doctrine of employing force for producing a "moral effect," expressing profound regret for the loss of life occasioned by the disturbances, and strong disapproval of certain specified instances of improper punishments and orders, failed to assuage the bitter mortification of educated India. Indeed, the effect of these pronouncements was largely offset by the tenor of the debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords when the matter came up for review. In these circumstances, many Indians began to despair of obtaining redress for what they regarded as a deep injury to their country's honour and repute. To such men, Mr. Gandhi's movement seemed to offer the only honourable alternative to a hopeless resort to physical force. Standing, then, in some sort as the champion of the East against the West, of India against Britain, Mr. Gandhi found it easy to rise upon the tide of Hindu and Muslim resentment, and to take full advantage of the wave of Indian nationalist feeling which had been stimulated and intensified by appreciation of the principles for which the Allies fought in the War. Discontents of many kinds, social, political, and above all, economic, swelled the ranks of his followers. In vain did Lord Chelmsford's Government demonstrate conclusively the chimerical nature of the projected movement; in vain did tried and experienced leaders of views so varied as those associated with the names of Mr. Tilak, Mr. (now Sir) Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. (now the Right Hon'ble) Srinivasa Sastri, raise their voice against it. Mr. Gandhi had seized the moment of moments; he had struck the imagination of the more emotional of his countrymen, and was shortly to put his theories to the test of practice. Thus extended, Mr. Gandhi's movement acquired yet another programme—the programme, in fact, which is commonly regarded as its starting point. This included the surrender of all titles and honours; refusal to participate in Government loans; boycott of Law Courts, of Government Schools, of Reformed Councils; concentration upon *Swadeshi* goods.

**Mr. Gandhi's Programme
again extended.**

Almost simultaneously with the publication of this programme in July 1920, the aim of the non-co-operation movement was extended to cover "Swaraj." To this, as he has plainly said on more than one occasion, Mr. Gandhi attaches no special value. He carefully refrained from assigning to it a precise meaning. It will be apparent as this narrative proceeds, that this indefiniteness, while a rock of offence to certain sections of his followers, was from another standpoint his chiefest strength; since the convenient word "Swaraj" was given a variety of interpretations.

To some it represented Mr. Gandhi's own ideal of Government of the Self: others read into it Dominion Home Rule: to another party it represented complete independence: yet others interpreted it as Muslim supremacy. Above all, to the masses, it shortly became synonymous with the commencement of a golden age, when prices should fall, when taxation should cease, when each man should be free from all State fetters, free to do that which he would with his own—and his wealthier neighbour's—property. Certain of those possible interpretations were endorsed by Mr. Gandhi himself on various occasions during the ensuing twelve months. At one time, he explained Swaraj as Parliamentary Government, whether within or without the Empire: at another time, as Dominion Home Rule. On a third occasion, he stated that it meant the universal employment of the spinning wheel: yet again, he identified it with the triumph of the Khilafat party. A like inconsistency governs his statements as to the date at which the desirable consummation was to be achieved. He foreshadowed it successively for September 1st, 1921, October 1st, 1921, October 30th, 1921, December 31st, 1921—until finally, at the end of the period we are now reviewing, he pessimistically declared that he could fix “no date.”

Having pursued for eight months an elaborate campaign from the Press and the Platform, Mr. Gandhi prepared to launch his non-cooperation movement in the autumn of 1920. He remained undeterred by two tragic occurrences, which might well have convinced anyone

Evil Omen.

more open to reason of the danger of the course he was adopting. The first was the assassination by a Muslim fanatic, of a popular and esteemed District officer; the second, the wholesale migration of thousands of ignorant persons, amidst misery and suffering reminiscent of the Crusades, to Afghanistan, whither they were impelled by the false and cruel assertion that their faith was endangered by continued residence in India. But of these portents Mr. Gandhi took no more heed than of his own fatal *Satyagraha* experiment. Thanks largely to his alliance with the Muhammadans, as well as to the enthusiasm of his personal partisans among the Hindus, he was able to obtain in September the support and sanction of a special Calcutta

Mr. Gandhi's First Triumph.

meeting of the Indian National Congress. After a keen discussion, the mass of the delegates who constituted Mr. Gandhi's following, carried the day against the more cautious counsels of well-known leaders

Non-co-operation was accepted in principle by a conclusive, if narrow, majority ; and a Sub-Committee was appointed to prepare draft instructions as to the exact operation of the campaign. Probably among the causes of Mr. Gandhi's victory must be reckoned his assurance that "Swaraj" could be gained in the course of a single year, if the specifics which he had devised were adopted.

The Committee recommended first, the surrender of titles and honorary offices, and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies ; secondly, refusal to attend levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officers or in their honour ; thirdly, the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces ; fourthly, the gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes ; fifthly, refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia : and sixthly, withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who might, despite

The Congress Programme.

the advice of Congress, offer himself for election. Mr. Gandhi and his immediate band of followers then moved up and down the country, this time enjoying the benefit of the organised Congress machinery for securing the success of their meetings. They failed to persuade more than a fractional proportion of the title holders to surrender their titles, or of lawyers to resign their practice. But on the other hand they were successful in causing educational dislocation to a considerable degree. Wherever Mr. Gandhi made his appearance, there for the moment was the ordinary progress of educational work seriously interrupted. His

Mr. Gandhi's Services to Education.

hold upon the student mentality is great, for they are a class to whom his idealism and frank appeal to the other-regarding emotions prove naturally attractive. Where Mr. Gandhi was most successful was in institutions which give but little scope for the traditional intimacy between master and pupil, teacher and taught, which India so well understands ; and thus could offer to their students no leadership calculated to counteract Mr. Gandhi's magnetism. The susceptibility of students, in India as elsewhere, to generous emotion, and their ready acceptance of the domination of catchwords such as "non-co-operation

with a satanic Government " rendered them easy victims to this disastrous appeal to leave their studies.

It need hardly be said that such an organised attack upon the educational structure of the country caused a great sensation. From its inception, the good sense of a large number even of Mr. Gandhi's personal followers revolted against the enterprise; and had it not been that his destructive campaign was in all cases accompanied by a specious programme of educational re-construction by means of "National" schools and colleges, this particular phase of the non-co-operation movement would have ended in earlier failure. But the demand for "National"

as opposed to "Imported" education struck a responsive chord in the breasts of many educated Indians; and it was only when the practical difficulties of Mr. Gandhi's programme obtruded themselves into notice, and when it was seen that the pathetically inefficient "National" Schools and Colleges could in no way supply the hiatus which would be caused by the indiscriminate destruction he proposed, that the campaign began for the moment to fail.

Mr. Gandhi's efforts in another direction were more impressive. He exercised a potent influence upon the history of the new Councils, for he prevented the inclusion in the Reformed Legislatures of certain advanced thinkers who figure prominently in the public eye. This not only left the Liberals a clear field of which they took full advantage, but also prevented the Reforms from being wrecked by persons who bore no good will to the British connection. The position of the Liberals at this time demands a word of notice. It will be remembered that they had committed themselves from the first to an honest working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Their position was now one of considerable difficulty. Upon the question of the

The Moderate or Liberal Party. Punjab and to a less extent of the Khilafat, many of them felt as deeply as did the non-co-operators. Nor were they oblivious to the essentially nationalist sentiment which inspired many of Mr. Gandhi's followers. On the other hand, while the non-co-operation movement made a strong appeal to their hearts, their heads were too cool to succumb to its spell. They revered Mr. Gandhi's personality: they sympathised in large measure with his three-fold end; and although they valued the British connection, as indispensable to India's welfare, they had little more love for the Government than he had himself. But they were entirely convinced of two things, and this conviction determined their

conduct. They knew that Mr. Gandhi's methods would lead to disastrous results, and they firmly believed that the road to India's aspirations lay through the employment, mastery and extension of the Reforms. Despite the storm of obloquy levelled upon them in the Press and from the platform, they steadfastly refused to join Mr. Gandhi in his campaign.

The work preparatory to the launching of the new constitution was now proceeding with remarkable speed, and by the close of the year 1920, all was ready for the beginning of the new era. As His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had not yet completely recovered from the labours of his Dominion Tour, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was appointed by His Majesty the King to discharge the task of formally inaugurating the new Legislatures, Central and Local.

The non-co-operation campaign continued to be waged with much vehemence of thought and expression. There seemed considerable danger lest the more impetuous supporters of this campaign should be led to indulge in speech and action which was calculated to produce that violence which they professed to shun. In particular, it appeared that they were turning their attention from the educated classes to the

Government and Non-Co-operation.

masses—a development which was pregnant with possibilities of serious disorder. Accordingly, in the beginning of November 1920, as mentioned in last year's Report, Government found it desirable to make plain beyond the possibility of doubt exactly what its policy was towards non-co-operation. The Resolution affirmed that while Government regarded the movement as unconstitutional, no proceedings had been instituted against those of its promoters who advocated abstention from violence, and that for three reasons. In the first place, Government declared itself reluctant to restrain freedom of speech and liberty of the Press at a time when India was on the threshold of a great advance towards the realisation of Self-Government within the Empire : secondly, Government was always reluctant to embark upon a campaign against individuals, some of whom were actuated by honest if misguided motives, further recognising that the sympathy evoked by such proceedings might swell adherence to a cause of no intrinsic merit. Thirdly and more particularly, however, Government trusted in the commonsense of India to reject a scheme so chimerical and visionary—a trust largely justified by the unanimity of the best minds of the country in its condemnation. The Resolution proceeded to convey a plain warning of the dangers of anarchy and suffering inherent in the attempt of the non-co-operators to stir up the ignorant masses ; and appealed to sober-minded men

for concerted measures to assist law and order. It concluded by a declaration that repressive action against the non-co-operation movement could be postponed only so long as moderate citizens were successful in keeping its dangers within bounds.

The studiously moderate tone of this Resolution and of the policy it frankly exposed, served in no small degree to strengthen the growing body of informed opinion which regarded the non-co-operation campaign as utopian in its theory and dangerous in its practice. But the real trial of strength between those who aimed at complete and immediate

The Elections. Swaraj, whether with or without chaos, and those who believed in a process of orderly development towards responsible Government within the Empire, was generally recognised to be the success or failure of the approaching elections. These were held successfully in the teeth of intimidation and social pressure of many subtle kinds despite the best efforts of Mr. Gandhi and his followers. The non-co-operators then turned their attention to their own organization.

The meeting of the National Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920 was to prove extremely important from the point of view of the country at large. It was the scene of another notable triumph for Mr. Gandhi. Notwithstanding the protests of many prominent persons who since the Special September Session had found themselves out of harmony with the spirit of the Congress, Mr. Gandhi succeeded both in securing a confirmation of his non-co-operation programme, and in bringing the old "Creed" of the Congress into line with the sentiment of his extreme Muhammadan henchmen of the Muslim League by eliminating the proviso of adherence to the British connection and to constitutional methods of agitation. The session was notable for the personal ascendancy of Mr. Gandhi, and for the intolerance manifested by his followers at any divergence from the opinions of their idol. Even well-tried leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Khaparde were howled down when they attempted to depict, all too truly, the ultimate implications of Mr. Gandhi's programme. Throughout the debates stress was laid by him and his immediate followers upon the possibility of obtaining Swaraj in less than a single year. A new programme was also framed, which while discarding items now plainly unsuccessful and superfluous, such as the renunciation of titles and the boycott of Councils, made certain substitutions of a very significant

character. The most important of these was the determination to establish non-co-operation Committees in every village throughout India—an ominous foreshadowing of systematic attempts to stir up the ignorant masses of the population; to organise an Indian National Service and to raise a “Tilak Swaraj Fund” to finance all these activities. In passing, we may note, the employment of the late Mr. Tilak’s name in connection with a campaign which on his very death-bed he had condemned, was an adroit attempt to conciliate the Nationalist party of Maharashtra, which had hitherto manifested no great faith in “soul force” with all the implications thereof.

As a result of the meeting at Nagpur, Mr. Gandhi not merely captured the powerful and well-organised machinery, Central, Provincial, and District, of the Indian National Congress, but in addition, gave it a distinctive turn for the furtherance of his own ends.

Congress and Non-Co-operation.

The year 1921, as we shall see, wrought a great change both in the character of the Congress and in the position of Mr. Gandhi himself. At the beginning of the year, he had approached this body almost in the character of a suppliant: before the end of the year he was to stand forth as the acknowledged dictator, not only of the non-co-operation movement, but also of the remodelled Congress organisation which lent that movement its most formidable strength. Throughout the whole of 1921 Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants proceeded to extend the scope of Congress activities in directions diametrically opposed to those which had commended themselves alike to the founders of the institution, and to the persons who had remained in control until the year 1919. The non-co-operation leaders incorporated in their Tilak Swaraj Fund, and employed for new purposes, the funds, central and local, at the disposal of the Congress. With the aid of these funds they proceeded to re-organise the old Congress Volunteers and the new Volunteers lately raised by the Khilafat Committee, into a fresh

The Volunteer Movement.

organisation known by the name of the “National Volunteers.” The function of the Congress Volunteers had previously been confined to various kinds of semi-social service, the supervision of Congress meetings, the provision of retinues for Congress leaders, and, occasionally the exercise of benevolent activities at bathing festivals, plague camps, and scenes of local catastrophies. On the other hand, the Khilafat Volunteers had from the first assumed a more militant appearance. They drilled, they marched in mass formation, they wore

uniform, they were vigorous in enforcing, with scanty respect to the proviso of non-violence, the behests of local leaders in such matters as hartals, social boycott, and intimidation. The fusion of these two bodies, although never completely effected, into a single organisation, was thus a step of considerable significance. The new "National" Volunteers inevitably became militant, aggressive and formidable. Their numbers were swelled by bad characters, hooligans and ne'er do weels, attracted first by the prospect of excitement and next, by the hope of a share in the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Before long indeed, most of the "Volunteers" were in receipt of payment whether regular or occasional, and had developed into a disorderly and dangerous, if technically unarmed, militia for the enforcement of the decrees of the Congress Working Committee—a body established to direct from day to day the details of the campaign against Government. It was the existence of these Volunteers, in numbers hitherto unprecedented, and their employment, by exerting pressure, nominally peaceful but generally otherwise, for the furtherance of items in the non-co-operation programme, which gave Mr. Gandhi's movement a character progressively more anarchic and more dangerous to established order as the year 1921 proceeded.

While Mr. Gandhi and his followers were preparing for the campaign destined to produce effects so serious, not only upon the peace and tranquillity of the country, but also upon the rapidity of her advance towards Responsible Government, the new Constitution, borne aloft upon the shoulders of the Government and the Liberal Party, was successfully launched. The appointment of a distinguished Indian, Lord Sinha, as Governor of Bihar: the appointment of ten Indian Members and nineteen Indian Ministers to share in the guidance of the new Provincial Executives: the presence of overwhelming elected majorities in the Legislatures both Central and local—these might well have been taken as proof positive of British determination to provide increasing opportunity for the satisfaction of Indian aspirations. But the fact must be plainly stated: in the confused and suspicious atmosphere of the early weeks of 1921, these auguries of a new era exercised but little attraction over the majority of those to whom they would normally have made their strongest appeal. Mr. Gandhi's movement: the Punjab question: the Khilafat grievance: the acquisition of *Swaraj* within one year—these and these alone were the topics upon which the driving, as opposed to the directing, forces of Indian nationalism were mainly concentrated.

Only as the year proceeded, did the substantial measure of success achieved by the new Governments, contrasting so cruelly with the disaster, confusion and chaos following upon the track of non-co-operation, convince all those who could still think sanely of the magnitude of the mistake perpetrated by Mr. Gandhi and his hypnotised disciples.

The new constitution received an auspicious impetus from the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who had laid aside his well-earned rest to labour once more for the India he loved. He

His Royal Highness the
Duke of Connaught.

visited every principal province, formally inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures. Less perhaps by his actual words, though these of themselves brought balm to thousands of souls momentarily embittered, than by his gracious personality, the Duke accomplished in India a work which no one but the son of the Great Queen could have performed. Everywhere he emphasised the privileges, the opportunities, the responsibilities which the new era signified to the country; everywhere he appealed with touching earnestness for sobriety, harmony, and co-operation from Indians and Englishmen alike. That the non-co-operators should have declared boycott against this reverend and gracious personality was an ominous indication of their own blindness to consideration of courtesy, fair-play, and statesmanship.

There have been few more impressive spectacles in the history of the connection between Britain and India than that afforded by the Duke's

Inauguration of the
Indian Parliament.

Inauguration, on February 9th, 1921, of the Parliament of India. In the new Council Chamber were gathered, beside the principal officials of Government, the elected members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, upon whose wisdom and sobriety the fate of the Reformed Constitution, and with it the destinies of the country, so largely depended. Lord Chelmsford, in an impressive speech, briefly traced the rise of democratic institutions in India up to the time when he had assumed charge of the Viceroyalty whose last weeks were now running out. He continued—

“The forces which had led to the introduction of these reforms continued to gain in intensity and volume; the demand of educated Indians for a larger share in the government of their country grew year

Lord Chelmsford's
speech.

by year more insistent; and this demand could find no adequate satisfaction within the framework of the Morley-Minto constitution. This

constitution gave Indians much wider opportunities for the expression of their views, and greatly increased their power of influencing the policy of Government, and its administration of public business. But the element of responsibility was entirely lacking. The ultimate decision rested in all cases with the Government, and the Councils were left with no functions save that of criticism. The principle of autocracy, though much qualified, was still maintained, and the attempt to blend it with the constitutionalism of the West could but postpone for a short period the need for reconstruction on more radical lines.

“Such then was the position with which my Government were confronted in the years 1916-17. The conclusion at which we arrived was that British policy must seek a new point of departure, a fresh orientation. On the lines of the Morley-Minto Reforms there could be no further advance. That particular line of development had been carried to the furthest limit of which it admitted, and the only further change of which the system was susceptible would have made the Legislative and Administrative acts of an irremovable executive entirely amenable to elected Councils, and would have resulted in a disastrous deadlock. The Executive would have remained responsible for the government of the country but would have lacked the power to secure the measures necessary for the discharge of that responsibility. The solution which finally commended itself to us is embodied in principle in the declaration which His Majesty's Government in full agreement with us made in August 1917. By that declaration the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government was declared to be the goal towards which the policy of His Majesty's Government was to be directed. The increasing association of the people of India with the work of Government had always been the aim of the British Government. In that sense a continuous thread of connection links together the Act of 1861 and the declaration of August 1917. In the last analysis the latter is only the most recent and most memorable manifestation of a tendency that has been operative throughout British rule. But there are changes of degree so great as to be changes of kind, and this is one of them. For the first time the principle of autocracy which had not been wholly discarded in all earlier reforms was definitely abandoned: the conception of the British Government as a benevolent despotism was finally renounced; and in its place was substituted that of a guiding authority whose role it would be to assist the steps of India along the road that in the fullness of time would lead to complete self-government within the Empire. In

the interval required for the accomplishment of this task, certain powers of supervision, and if need be of intervention, would be retained, and substantial steps towards redeeming the pledges of the Government were to be taken at the earliest moment possible.

“And now His Majesty the King-Emperor, who has given so many proofs of his concern for the welfare of India, has been pleased to set the seal on our labours of the last four years by deputing His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to open on his behalf the new Indian Legislature. His Royal Highness is no stranger to India. Some five years of his life were passed in this country; he has himself been a Member of the Indian Legislative Council; he knows the people of India and their problems and his interest in their well-being has never flagged. We welcome him not only as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, but as an old and proved friend of India.

“And now it is my privilege and pleasure to ask His Royal Highness to inaugurate the new Assemblies of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly.”

The Duke, amidst a profound silence of expectation, delivered the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor.

“Little more than a year has elapsed since I gave my assent to the Act of Parliament which set up a constitution for British India. The intervening time has been fully occupied in perfecting the necessary machinery: and you are now at the opening of the first session of the legislatures which the Act established. On this auspicious occasion I desire to send to you, and to the members of the various Provincial Councils, my congratulations and my earnest good wishes for success in your labours and theirs.

“For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire; and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

“On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils, there rests a very special responsibility. For on you it lies by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgments to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow countrymen who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment and to cherish their interests as your own.

"I shall watch your work with unfailing sympathy, and with a resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire."

His Royal Highness, after dwelling upon the difficulties and privileges of the new era concluded his speech with an eloquent personal appeal—

"Gentlemen, I have finished my part in to-day's official proceedings. May I claim your patience and forbearance while I say a few words of a personal nature? Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab.

The Duke's Appeal. No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself. I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal wounds and to re-unite those who have been disunited. In what must be, I fear, my last visit to the India I love so well, here in the new Capital, inaugurating a new constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, but in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted. My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that rise from to-day."

That this appeal did not fall upon deaf ears, soon became amply apparent. The relations between the official Government and the new Indian Legislatures were, throughout the whole of the first critical session, satisfactory in the highest degree. The non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State, who control an absolute majority over any number of votes which Government can possibly command, throughout revealed a sense of responsibility, of sobriety and of statesmanship which surpassed all sanguine expectations. On the side of Government there was a generous response. Lord Chelmsford remarked,

The Response. when the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were inaugurated, that the principle of autocracy in the administration of India has now been definitely discarded. The officials were not slow to exhibit their realisation of the change which has come over the spirit of the time. They gladly acknowledged the power of the new

Legislatures ; took them into confidence ; sought their co-operation, and recognised their responsibilities.

That such should have been the relations between the officials and the non-officials is all the more noteworthy in view of the early difficulties which beset the new Indian Parliament. It was generally felt that the debate upon the Punjab question would strike once and for all the keynote of the session. On the 15th February 1921, a resolution was moved by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas recommending the Governor-General to declare the firm resolve of the Government of India to maintain the connection of India with the British Empire on the principle of perfect racial equality ; to express regret that the Martial Law administration of the Punjab departed from this principle, and to mete out deterrent punishment to officers who have been guilty ; and to satisfy himself that adequate compensation was awarded to the families of those killed or injured at the Jallianwala Bagh. The notable feature of the

The Punjab Debate. debate which ensued was the deep sense of responsibility felt both by the official and the non-official speakers for the present and future effects of the words they uttered. The speeches of the Indian Members revealed no rancour and no desire for vengeance. They made it plain that they were fighting for a principle. On the other side, the officials re-asserted with an added emphasis which this occasion had for the first time made possible, their disapproval of certain acts which had given rise to such bitter resentment among the educated classes of India. Sir William Vincent, who led the debate from the Government benches, while in no way underestimating the grave nature of the disturbances, the crimes of unparalleled violence that had marked them ; the very difficult situation with which the officers of Government were confronted ; and the propriety of the behaviour of the great majority of these officers : made plain the deep regret of the administration at the improper conduct and improper orders of certain individual officers : and their firm determination that so far as human foresight could avail, any repetition would be for ever impossible. He repudiated emphatically the suggestion that Indian lives were valued more lightly than the lives of Englishmen, expressing his sorrow that the canons of conduct for which the British administration stood had been in certain cases violated. He announced Government's intention to deal generously with those who had suffered in the disturbances. The sincerity and the earnestness of the Home Member's desire to assuage the feelings of Indians

exercised a profound effect upon the Assembly. Acknowledging the sympathetic attitude of Government, the Assembly agreed to welcome the Duke of Connaught's appeal, to let bye-gones be bye-gones, and to sink the whole lamentable affair in oblivion. The third clause, calling for deterrent punishment was withdrawn, and the resolution as amended was then accepted by the whole House.

The effect of this decision, and of the subsequent statement made by Government regarding the steps taken to deal with the officers whose conduct had been impugned, was most salutary. There was, it was true, a demand for the further revision of the sentences of such persons condemned by the Martial Law Tribunals as had not been released—they were few—by Government. This demand was sub-

Its Consequences.

sequently satisfied by the personal investigation of those cases by no less an authority than Lord Reading himself; while public opinion was further gratified by the payment of compensation to Indian sufferers upon a liberal scale, and the relief of the towns of Amritsar, Kasur and Gujranwalla from the indemnities imposed upon them. Broadly speaking, the result of this debate in the Assembly, and of the frank expression of regret for the wrongs done on either side, was gradually to remove the "Punjab grievance" as a living issue from the realm of practical politics. For while Mr. Gandhi did not dare to drop this item from his programme, he was compelled to give it the very form which he had himself on earlier occasions most strongly condemned, namely a demand for executive vengeance upon, as opposed to judicial punishment of, the impugned officials, and for the arbitrary forfeiture of the pensions of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. At the same time neither he nor any of his followers took such steps as were open to them to bring the matter before the Courts.

Having, as it were, cleared the atmosphere of much of the electricity with which it was charged, the Assembly, like the Council of State, proceeded to steady and serious business. The deliberations of both Houses had none of that unreality which too often characterised the proceedings of the old Imperial Legislative Council with its solid official majority. The elected representatives, preponderating effectively, were brought

Character of the Central Legislature.

face to face with responsibility, since the results of the debates depended primarily upon themselves. Under the wise guidance of their Presidents, both Houses proceeded to formulate for themselves sound traditions of Parliamentary procedure. The conduct of the members was

marked by a commendable sobriety. While the utmost freedom of speech was exercised as their unquestioned right, members soon came to favour terse, informed, pointed contributions to the solution of questions at issue, manifesting a steadily increasing impatience of the banal, the verbose, and the offender against the canons of good taste. When all allowances are made for inexperience, and for the imperfect appreciation of powers wielded for the first time, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that India's new Parliament passed through the ordeal of its first session with very remarkable success.

Of this the best demonstration was the extent and the solidity of the work accomplished—work which depended for its completion upon that harmonious co-operation between officials and non-officials to which reference has already been made. In the Legislative Assembly, the extensive financial powers already secured under the new constitution were consolidated by the election of Standing Committees for Public Accounts and for Finance; the functions of the latter being extended to the sanction and control of expenditure for which the House voted “block grants,” in addition to the more formal duty

Its Work.

of scrutinizing Budget proposals, examining supplementary votes, and dealing with major schemes involving fresh expenditure. Considering the general financial situation of India at the beginning of the year 1921-22, it must be pronounced fortunate indeed that the Legislative Assembly contained a considerable sprinkling of men accustomed to play responsible parts in commerce, administration, and public life. For, as was briefly indicated in last year's Report, the disastrous economic history of 1920 had resulted in a deficit of £18½ millions, which had to be met by the imposition of fresh taxation. Now under the new Constitution, not only must all taxation proposals be passed by the Assembly and the Council of State, but, in addition, the ordinary administrative charges, with the exception of items earmarked for military and political heads, and all-India services, depend entirely upon the voting of grants by the Legislature. It is therefore in the power of the elected members at any time to bring about a deadlock by stopping supplies, and to force the Viceroy either to acquiesce in the course of action which they desire, or to employ

The Budget.

overriding powers of a kind which cannot but injure the growth of responsibility. Had this course been adopted by the Assembly, only a miracle could have saved the Reforms. But despite their knowledge of the odium which

the imposition of fresh taxation at such a juncture would bring upon them, the members rose to the obligations entailed by their new powers. While they sharply scrutinised all the demands presented to them, and insisted upon full explanations concerning any items of which they stood in doubt, they consented to the grants, and endorsed the taxation proposals, with comparatively few alterations. In other matters also, both the Assembly and the Council of State displayed their business acumen to considerable advantage, while the Government cordially co-operated in their efforts. Committees, with effective Indian majorities, were appointed to examine the Press Act, and certain laws conferring extraordinary powers on the executive, commonly described as "repressive," with a view to their early removal from the Statute Book. The appointment of a Commission to examine the whole question of tariffs was a natural sequel to the pronouncement of the Joint Committee of Parliament on the subject of the autonomy of India in matters of fiscal policy. The policy of the administration towards non-co-operation, the exchange situation, the export of foodstuffs, the slaughter of cattle and the Khilafat movement was elicited, and approved by the Legislature, as

Other Activities.

the result of debates upon these important matters. A Committee was appointed to consider the future military requirements of India, in the light of the opinions prevailing upon the Report of Lord Escher's Committee. Satisfactory assurances were obtained from the Administration as to the early constitution of a Military College and a Territorial Force for India, which should enable the educated classes to acquire the training necessary for effective co-operation in the task of defending the country. Much useful legislation, particularised in another place, was successfully placed upon the Statute Book. Such in briefest outline was the work accomplished by the Central Legislature in its first session: well might Lord Chelmsford say in the course of his prorogation speech—

"Even the British Constitution, as Mr. Gladstone has shown, may break down if it is worked in any way other than that of mutual respect and in a common interest for a common aim. It is, then, in the belief

Lord Chelmsford's Prorogation.

that it is with good sense and good-will that the new Constitution will be worked that I have faith in what I have set my hand to.

"It is the first step which counts and this first session should go far to dispel the doubts of those who have looked upon our new constitutional

departure with gloomy forebodings. It should go far to hearten those who are pledged to fight the constitutional cause against the forces of disorder and anarchy. But for those who have displayed such conspicuous wisdom and courage in launching the new constitution on right lines, there still remains work to do. There is need for the spreading of the constitutional gospel in the country. You will then, I hope, in your recess make an organised effort to teach people what this reformed constitution means ; that real powers—not sham—are vested in the Councils, and how surely through these Councils, progress must come.”

The work accomplished by the Provincial Legislatures, if of a kind more local in its interests, was equally solid. That mistakes should have been made, was inevitable, as when the Bengal Council rejected the demand for the maintenance of the Police establishment. But in every instance, the difficulty was overcome by the exercise of tact, the provision of opportunities for reconsideration, the gradual growth of the conviction that the responsibilities now vested in the elected majority were real and serious. What may be called the educational effects of confronting the new Councils with actual administrative problems were unquestionably very marked. Fervid oratory began to yield before sober efforts to solve knotty problems : facile demands for the advent of the Millenium faltered as their authors were faced with practical difficulties and entrusted with the task of devising practical remedies.

The prorogation of the first session of the Reformed Councils, both Central and Local, coincided almost exactly with the termination of Lord Chelmsford's arduous and significant Viceroyalty. To few Governors-General has it been given to accomplish so much towards the enduring welfare of their great charge ; to fewer yet has the meed of praise and appreciation been so scantily rendered. This is not the place

Lord Chelmsford's
Viceroyalty.

in which to recount his labours for the good of India, or to describe the supreme difficulty of the circumstances amidst which those labours were performed. Bare justice demands none-the-less that some brief indication should be given of the change which came over India during the course of his momentous administration. Throughout his Viceroyalty India was under the influence of the Great War. He arrived in the country at a time of singular difficulty. The first great wave of war enthusiasm had spent itself ; nothing had so far been done to satisfy the expectations aroused by the applause with which the politicians and people of Great Britain had greeted India's war efforts ; and ominous

signs of break-down in the military machinery were manifest. It must be recorded of Lord Chelmsford that his administration roused India from depression into new vigour. War activities of great, almost incalculable value for the prosecution of the struggle, were carried on despite the uneasiness of the country. His Government had to bear a double burden. While consecrating to the uses of the Empire enormous supplies of men, money and material, such as could ill be spared, he had also to preserve India from external aggression and internal disaster. Great as were Lord Chelmsford's services to the Empire in general, his work for India is even more deserving of commemoration. In 1916, when he assumed charge of his high office, the educated classes were labouring uneasily beneath certain grievances which were bitterly resented. India's position in the Commonwealth was ambiguous. For while on the one hand the attitude of certain of the Dominions towards her nationals seemed to stamp her with the stigma of inferiority and the ultimate goal of British Rule remained undefined: on the other hand, internal affairs were, from the point of view of the educated classes, scarcely more satisfactory. India's sons were deprived on racial grounds of the privilege of bearing arms; they could not aspire to King's Commissions; their position in India's Imperial Services was insignificant. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 had failed to confer upon them any effective power of influencing the executive. But by 1921, after five strenuous years, the picture was completely changed.

His Services to India.

Since 1917, India had been a Member of the Imperial Conference. The names of her representatives stood as signatories to the Peace Treaty of Versailles. She was an original Member of the League of Nations. One of her representatives played a prominent part in the British Empire Delegation to the Disarmament Conference at Washington. The self-governing Dominions, with a single exception, had accepted her new position in the British Commonwealth, where she was no longer a Dependency, but a sister nation on the road to complete equality with the other members. This altered situation depended upon a momentous definition of the goal of British Rule in India—a definition arising directly from the labours of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. E. S. Montagu. India's future within the Empire no longer remained undefined: she could look forward to Responsible Government as an entity of Dominion status. She was actually operating a progressive scheme leading directly to Self-Government, a scheme holding out before her infinite possibilities of advancement. In token of her changed position,

many of those anomalies which aroused such bitter feeling had been removed. The racial stigma was gone from the Arms Act. Indian soldiers were holding King's Commissions. Indian youths were being trained for Sandhurst, at an Indian Military College. Indian lads were learning in Territorial units to fit themselves for the defence of their country. In industrial and educational spheres, steady and substantial

Remarkable Changes. progress had been achieved, while local self-government had made notable advances. In brief, as a result of the labours of Lord Chelmsford and his Government through good repute and through ill, the face of India was changed in half a decade. The fact that this change has not contented impatient idealists ; that it has not placated that post-war unrest from which India suffers in common with the rest of the world—these things must not be allowed to colour over-much a considered judgment upon Lord Chelmsford's administration. Of him and of his work alike it may be said with confidence that the future, if not the present, will assuredly do them justice.

India was fortunate indeed that to a Viceroy who had steered the barque of State through storms so fierce, there should have succeeded a statesman whose reputation had been won in the lists of justice. The great judicial career of Lord Reading, his liberal opinions, his services to the Empire as a diplomat, combined to mark him out as the man of all others to complete the work which Lord Chelmsford had so well begun.

CHAPTER III.

Order and Anarchy.*

The situation which awaited Lord Reading, while not devoid of hopeful elements, was anxious. In order to appreciate his difficulties it will be necessary to resume the account of Mr. Gandhi's activities, which was broken immediately subsequent to the Nagpur Congress.

While both officials and non-officials were earnestly striving to lay the foundations of a solid structure of Responsible Government, the non-co-operators, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers, were pursuing their campaign of misdirected energy. It is indeed instructive during the year 1921-22 to compare the achievements of the Reformed Constitution, its steady satisfaction, one by one, of the demands which educated India had voiced for decades : its vigilant watchfulness of the interests of the country : its gradually increasing dignity, authority and influence, with the utter sterility, in all healthy practical achievement of the non-co-operation campaign. The historian of the future will probably experience some difficulty in explaining to his readers how the India of 1921-22 could conceivably have hesitated, even for one moment, between the path of reform, with its infinite possibilities of progress and the path of non-co-operation, with its equally boundless possibilities of anarchy, chaos, and misery. But it should be remembered that the political atmosphere of the time was far from normal. In the earlier pages of this Report, some mention has been made of the forces which impelled all but the most sober-minded and experienced of Indians to frame their course of action according to the vagaries of sentiment rather than the dictates of reason. Nor on the other hand can it be denied that in the achievements of the Councils, rich as they were in potentialities of early progress towards self-government, there was little to touch the imagination of the enthusiastic, the impetuous,

* This chapter is based principally upon official reports, upon the current press, and upon the writings of Indian students of politics. In the last class, I must record my gratitude to Mr. Alfred Nundy, who has courteously placed his book, "Revolution or Evolution," at my disposal.

the would-be martyr. Their appeal was rather to the logical, to the clear-headed, to the disillusioned. Mr. Gandhi, on the other hand, by his frank oblivion alike to common sense and to the limitations of practical politics, gathered under his banner, together with many disaffected and many disappointed persons, a very appreciable contingent of disinterested and generous enthusiasts. While unable, largely through the peculiar character of his ideas and of his programme, to compass much positive good, he was thus empowered to spread far and wide a negative and corrosive influence highly dangerous to the stability of society.

During the first three months of the year 1921, the strength of the working agreement between Mr. Gandhi and his Muhammadan "brethren" had become more than ever apparent. Each party to the alliance was in fact necessary to the other. For while on the one hand Mr. Gandhi's espousal of the Khilafat cause and his declared identification with the Ali Brothers, placed at his disposal the matchless fighting force of Muslim religious sentiment; on the other hand his own importance as a national figure, his acknowledged altruism, and his blind acceptance of any extravagant demand put forward in the name of religion, enabled the representatives of extreme Mussalman opinion to go safely in their propaganda to lengths which would in other circumstances have been impossible. Guaranteed as it were by Mr. Gandhi, safeguarded by his insistence upon non-violence, the Muslim extremists succeeded, with small interference from the authorities, in exciting the religious frenzy of their co-religionists to a dangerous heat. And while all must admit that Mr. Gandhi's aim of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans upon a common platform has much to commend it, it is impossible to deny that throughout the major portion of the year 1921, this platform, whatever his intentions may have been, was in truth nothing more nor less than racial hatred of the Government and of Englishmen. During the early months of the period, this regrettable fact became increasingly apparent. The boycott of educational institutions was pursued in a vigorously aggressive fashion. There was scarcely a University from which misguided boys did not withdraw, in larger or smaller numbers, to devote themselves to the work of agitation. Many lives were ruined: many careers blasted, before it became apparent that the movement was disastrous only to those who were so ill-advised as to participate in it. Even institu-

Mr. Gandhi and the
Khilafatists.

The Educational
Campaign.

tions like Benares and Calcutta, which had long resisted the poison succumbed for a time to its effects. But the utter failure of the non-co-operators to provide for the boys whose prospects they had ruined : the inadequacy both in teaching and in resources of the mushroom "National" institutions, could not long remain concealed. This item of Mr. Gandhi's programme, after exciting the reprobation of all sober-minded men, collapsed. Meanwhile, in cheerful optimism Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers toured the country preaching doctrines which shortly bore fruit in violent disorders. We shall proceed to notice in due course some of the more formidable of these disturbances ; for the present it is sufficient to state that during the calendar year 1921 there were no fewer than sixty outbreaks of varying seriousness in different parts of India. But sublimely confident in his power to control the whirlwind he was sowing, Mr. Gandhi pressed forward. The members of the Volunteer organisations spread themselves over the countryside, inspiring rustics only a shade more credulous than themselves, with contempt for constituted authority. Muhammadan feeling rose to great heights, and was scarcely assuaged by the unflagging efforts of the Government of India to press their views upon His Majesty's Government—efforts which resulted in an abortive revision of the Treaty of Sevres in directions more favourable to Turkey. Economic unrest rapidly assumed a dangerous form when provided

with the nucleus constituted by enthusiastic and vituperative volunteer preachers. Over the whole of this restless activity, many items of which threatened shortly to conflict with the law of the land, Mr. Gandhi threw the cloak at once of his personal sanctity and of his insistence upon non-violence. His followers, it is to be feared, paid but little heed to his admonitions on the latter topic. As in the case of his *Satyagraha* movement, he was the last to perceive, what had for some time been apparent to others, that he was evoking forces which were beyond his powers to control. Utterly convinced of the justice of his ends, believing himself to be a humble instrument for the unification of the Indian people and the re-generation

of Indian life, he persisted in the various items of his programme. The condition of the country might well have inspired with doubt and hesitation anyone less blindly convinced of his own infallibility. A brief survey of the situation will show how dangerous were the possibilities of widespread disorder. During January, there were serious agrarian riots, accompanied

by extensive looting and widespread anarchy, in certain districts of the United Provinces. Was this the peasantry to whom a wise man would have introduced the conception of the sanctity of defying organised authority? The Punjab, also, was in a highly inflammatory condition. To the legacy of bitterness following the occurrences of 1919, there was now added a serious dispute between two sections of the Sikh community which, from the tragic interest it aroused, merits a word of elucidation. The "new" reforming party had been for some time dissatisfied with the management of the Gurudwaras, or shrines, which for long years, under arrangements sanctioned by the "old" conservative party, had been controlled by resident abbots. Many of these *Mahants*, although enjoying wide discretion in the management of considerable revenues, were less Sikhs than Hindus—a fact not unconnected with an inextricable admixture, in the endowment of

The Sikh Question. many of the shrines, of Hindu and Sikh beneficence. The "new" Sikhs alleged malversation and abuses of every kind: the "old" Sikhs regarded the malcontents as inspired only by a desire for plunder. Into this quarrel, primarily domestic to the Sikh community, the emissaries of non-co-operation now penetrated, with the result that the "new Sikhs," and particularly the Akali jathas—band of volunteers forming the most zealous section of the reformers—became strongly anti-Government and even revolutionary in their outlook. Refusing to be appeased by the efforts of Government to enquire into, and remedy, cases of alleged mismanagement, the Akalis began to "occupy" shrines, and eject the lawful incumbents. Taking the cue from the non-co operation movement, they eschewed the ordinary processes of law, while professing to act in a "non-violent" manner—so long as they were not resisted. Somewhat naturally, these tactics were combated by the other party. Bloody quarrels, such as will necessarily occur between opposing factions of a simple-minded and warlike people, shortly broke out. In January, there was a serious affray at Tarn Taran. In February India shuddered to hear of a terrible massacre, by the Hindu abbot of Nankana Sahib, of the band of "new Sikhs" designing to eject him from his great and wealthy shrine. For this tragedy, wherein some 130 lives were lost in circumstances of appalling savagery, the spirit of lawlessness arising from the non-co-operation movement, which had made possible such a flagrant attempt to subvert private rights, must be held indirectly responsible. Elsewhere also, the condition of India was almost equally disquieting. In Bihar, there was a strike, complicated by non-co-operation activities

in the East Indian Railway Collieries, leading to a riot at Giridih.

Sporadic Disorders.

Another strike, also accompanied by disorder, broke out on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. At Nagpur, in the Central Provinces, the intimidation practised by "National Volunteers" against persons resorting to liquor shops, led to serious disturbances. In Assam, as we shall notice later, inflammatory appeals to ignorant tea-garden labourers, began to produce their inevitable effects in riot and disorder. In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies mobs of hooligans, with the name of Gandhi upon their lips, practised subtle terrorism and intimidation of a sort with which the authorities found it most difficult to cope, while Khilafat preachers roused the frenzy of poor and ignorant Muslims with the cry of "Religion in danger." Everywhere through these masses of combustible elements, moved the emissaries of non-co-operation, preaching, it is true, non-violence, but coupling with this admonition fervent exhortations as to the necessity of "passively" defying the authority of the State, and inflammatory appeals for the rectification of the Punjab and Khilafat grievances, and the acquisition of immediate Swaraj. Everywhere they invoked the magic of Mr. Gandhi's name thereby strengthening, whether consciously or unconsciously, the belief of the credulous masses in his miraculous powers. Thousands of ignorant and humble persons, whether dwellers in the city or in the countryside, were fired with enthusiasm for the great "Mahatma," whose kingdom when it came, would bring them prosperity, affluence and a respite from labour. Little wonder that while eagerly drinking in the tales of Government's iniquity and oppression, they set small store by admonitions against the use of violence.

The fountain-head of all these activities, steadily ignoring the terrible potentialities of his campaign, continued to extol the virtues of soul-force, love, and non-violence. The occurrences of disturbances, week by week, almost day by day, which could be traced beyond the possibility of doubt to persons professing to follow his behests, occasioned him from time to time passing, if real, remorse. He was accustomed to express this when some more than usually flagrant example of violence was brought to his notice. But these events affected his belief in the efficacy of his schemes not one whit. In March 1921,

Mr. Gandhi's New Programme.

apparently in answer to those who complained of the purely negative and destructive character of non-co-operation activities, a fresh programme was put forward. Mr. Gandhi now proposed to concentrate

for the next three months upon collecting as much money as possible, upon removing the curses of untouchability and alcoholism and upon inducing every Indian home to employ the hand spinning wheel. In passing, it may be noticed that this last item is of particular interest since it shows that Mr. Gandhi's belief in the efficacy of his Tolstoyan creed had in no way diminished with his emergence upon the stage of Indian politics. To the extreme consternation of many of his followers—particularly in the Muslim section—he announced that the spinning wheel was the key to India's freedom. Once let the nation spin its own thread and weave its own cloth; once let it throw off the curse of modern commercialism; once let it liberate itself from the sway of Lancashire and of machinery: and, he said triumphantly, "Swaraj is realised." The new programme crystalised itself before long into three main items; first, the collection of such monies as would bring the Tilak Swaraj Fund to a total of ten million rupees; second, the collection of ten million members for the Indian National Congress; and thirdly, the installation of two million spinning wheels in two million homes.

At this juncture Lord Reading landed in India. His great judicial reputation, which had preceded him, was not without its influence even upon the non-co-operators. Mr. Gandhi declined to declare *hartals* on the day of the new Viceroy's arrival, expressing willingness to allow him an opportunity of forming independent conclusions upon the Indian situation. For the moment there was a certain lull in the political tension. The early utterances of Lord Reading, his impressive personality, his manifest determination to render justice to all, were alike instrumental in exciting the hope that the extravagances of non-co-operation would yield before the counsels of intelligence and sanity. But whatever may have been the inclinations of Mr. Gandhi himself, a fresh impetus to the movement was shortly supplied by forces within his own camp.

The latest turn which Mr. Gandhi desired to give to the non-co-operation movement, while it displayed to the impartial observer the consistency of his character, threatened to result in a split among various sections of his followers. So stalwart a nationalist as Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal washed his hands of a movement which professed to find India's freedom at the point of the spindle. There

The Cloth Boycott. was also a commercial side to the cult of the spinning wheel. Considerable pressure seems to have been brought to bear to induce Mr. Gandhi to modify his

opinions concerning machinery. This was apparently unsuccessful. But extraordinary to relate, he was led to reverse his previous solemn denunciation of boycott as a form of "violence." In June, as will be seen later, he declared a rigorous boycott of imported cloth, and ordered its destruction by fire. Little wonder that Indian mill-shares soared, and that certain grateful owners contributed largely to the Swaraj Fund. This difficulty being evaded, Mr. Gandhi turned his attention elsewhere. More serious from his point of view was the growing divergence between his own aims and those of the Khilafat party. These latter made a concerted attempt to force his hand, and to procure a programme more in harmony with their own militant spirit. The Khilafat extremists in general, and the Ali Brothers in particular, proceeded to deliver a series of violent speeches pointing unmistakably in the direction of Islamic supremacy, a religious war, and the liberation of India from the British yoke,

Impatience of the Khilafatists.

with the help of Trans-Frontier Muhammadan forces. For example, Mr. Mohamed Ali, in the course of a singularly offensive speech at Madras, announced that Englishmen would soon be compelled to leave India, and that if the Amir of Afghanistan were to invade India, not aggressively, but for the liberation of the country from an infidel yoke, it would be the duty of all Muslims to assist him actively. Now in view of the uncertainty which then existed as to the attitude of Afghanistan, this declaration came as a severe shock to Hindu sentiment, which still retains a lively memory of past "frightfulness." Its effects were further reinforced by a growing resentment against what was regarded in many quarters as Mr. Gandhi's undue yielding to Muslim predilections in the matter of cowkilling, the preference of Urdu to Hindi

Hindu-Muslim
Dissensions.

overweighted representation upon deliberative bodies, and like. The Hindu-Muslim unity, to which he attached so much importance, and for which he had demanded so many sacrifices, seemed to be on the point of crumbling. Despite his attempts to gloss over the violent speeches of his Muslim co-workers, and his pathetic assertion of his entire reliance upon the peaceful intentions of the Ali Brothers, a large section of Hindus was being steadily alienated from the non-co-operation movement by the manifest religious intolerance and Pan-Islamic aims of its extreme Mussalman supporters. The reiterated assertions of the Ali Brothers that they were "Muslims first and everything else afterwards," excited genuine alarm among many of those who had been most

actively in sympathy with their cause. In the next place, Government which had held its hand so long as the activities of the non-co-operators were compatible with the law of the land, found itself obliged to consider the question of prosecuting the Ali Brothers for the incitement to violence contained in certain of their recent

In accordance with the policy already explained, the various administrations of India, both Central and Local, had taken no repressive action against Mr. Gandhi's movement in its unalloyed forms. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that they were either indifferent or apathetic. While the Government of India did not believe, for reasons set forth in the November resolution, that proceedings against the principal promoters of non-violent non-co-operation would be expedient, they pursued a deliberate and consistent policy in relation to Mr. Gandhi's movement. This policy had both a negative and a positive aspect. On the negative side they directed that vigorous action should be taken under the ordinary law against all those who by speech or writing attempted to incite the public to violence or to tamper with the loyalty of troops or police. They impressed upon local Governments the necessity of keeping the closest possible watch upon efforts to spread disaffection among the masses : of enforcing general respect for the law ; and of prosecuting persons guilty of seditious speeches. From time to time during the year 1921, these instructions were revised, as particular aspects of non-co-operative activity became manifest. In the middle of the year, for example, it was found desirable to issue special orders to deal with the oppression perpetrated by self-constituted Village Arbitration Committees, and with the tyranny to which dealers in foreign cloth and liquor sellers were subjected. Local administrations were encouraged to enquire promptly into all complaints of oppression on the part of non-co-operation courts; to promise protection to peaceful citizens in the exercise of their rights to purchase and sell what goods they liked ; and to form strong battalions of armed police. Action was also taken against newspapers publishing seditious articles : pamphlets and leaflets inciting to disaffection were confiscated. On the positive side, the authorities trusted both to the enactment of such remedial measures as would remove legitimate political, agrarian and industrial grievances, and to the organisation of counter-propaganda. Loyal citizens were encouraged to form themselves into Leagues of Order : bodies known as *Amin Sabhas* were constituted in various provinces

to undertake publicity work among the masses: the policy and intentions of Government were explained unwearingly by official and non-official workers: the non-co-operation programme was destructively criticised in the Press and from the Platform: concerted efforts were made to arouse the general public to a realisation of the dangers inherent in Mr. Gandhi's activities. While this counter-propaganda was not without effect, it suffered from one serious, nay fundamental, weakness. In relation to the dominant figure of Mr. Gandhi it was compelled to stand for the most part on the defensive. Even those members of the Liberal Party who were convinced of the errors and follies of the non-co-operation movement, could never bring themselves to question the motives or the eminence of its principal protagonist. Thanks therefore to the reputation enjoyed by Mr. Gandhi, the criticisms levelled against his campaign were shorn of much of their

Difficulties of Counter-Propaganda.

vehemence: for his antagonists generally accompanied their denunciation of his activities with protestations of profound respect for his personality. The honest conviction underlying this attitude was not weakened by the tactics of the non-co-operators, who broke up meetings, howled down speakers and refused to give ear to anything but crude denunciation of the "Satanic" Government. The position of the Liberals was further weakened by the fact that their party was in office. This enabled the non-co-operators to taunt them with the accusation of place-hunting—an effective, if unjust, indictment when the catchword of self-sacrifice was all-dominant.

The nature of the speeches delivered by the Ali Brothers, rendered it impossible for the authorities to hold their hand longer. A prosecution

Impending Prosecution of the Ali Brothers.

was plainly inevitable unless something could be done. Accordingly Mr. Gandhi in a desperate effort to save the situation, embarked upon a course of action damaging at once to his movement and to his own reputation for consistency. He, the head and forefront of the campaign for non-co-operation with a "Satanic" Government, actually presented himself in person before that Government's principal embodiment. To those of his followers who objected to this display of tolerance, Mr. Gandhi replied that he was waging war, not with individuals but with a system. It would have been well for the fair fame of his country if he had remembered this epigram at the coming of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In May, as a result of the good offices of Pandit Madan Mohan

Malaviya, a series of interviews were arranged between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. What passed in the course of these interviews, was not made public, but a few days after Mr. Gandhi had left Simla, the Ali Brothers published an apology in the following terms :—

“ Friends have drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours which, in their opinion, have a tendency to incite to violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them. But we recognise the force of our friends’ argument and interpretation.

“ We therefore sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches, and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it, that so long as we are associated with the movement of non-co-operation we shall not, directly or indirectly, advocate violence at present, or in the future, nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed we hold it contrary to the spirit of non-violent non-co-operation, to which we have pledged our word.”

The effect of this apology, which was very considerable, was emphasised by Lord Reading in a speech delivered a few days later :—

“ I informed Mr. Malaviya that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it, and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that in due course Mr. Gandhi did apply, and there was not only one interview, but several interviews

between us. There was no finesse or manœuvre about it. It seemed to be a plain and straightforward arrangement for an interview.

“ Here again I think I am not quite free to tell you all that you might desire to know. Yet I will say that I am quite certain that the result of these interviews produced at least this satisfactory result, that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me.

“ This may be somewhat vague and indefinite, yet it is not entirely so. As you may be aware, the result of these visits and discussions was that Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement, which doubtless you have seen to-day, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence, and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi. I do not want to discuss this matter at any length,

I merely refer to it as showing that the interviews were not entirely fruitless, because, so far as Government is concerned, we achieved our immediate object, which was to prevent incitement to violence. I have had occasion once before to say that it almost always reacts with fatal effect upon those who are most innocent.

“As a Government we have a duty to perform. We have to protect those who may be thus led away, and we therefore had determined to take steps in order to vindicate the law, to maintain its authority, and to prevent the recurrence of any further violence. Fortunately it has not been necessary to have recourse to the ordinary law of the land, for the reason that we have now got the undertaking to which I have referred. I certainly shall assume that it is intended to keep that undertaking and that the expressions of regret are as sincere as those expressions seem to denote ; and so long as that undertaking is observed we need not fear that such speeches will recur and, provided the undertaking is observed, they, too, may be sure that there will be no prosecution for them.”

This struck a severe blow at the reputation of the Ali Brothers. They attempted to deny that the apology was offered to Government, and they even succeeded in obtaining the half-hearted support of Mr. Gandhi to their position. But the fact remains that their credit with the more fanatical members of their own community was shaken, and the non-co-operation movement on the Khilafat side suffered a defeat. The policy of suspending a prosecution after obtaining a public apology was employed in numerous other cases, also with good effect.

Mr. Gandhi, undismayed by this temporary set-back, devoted his unflagging energies to the programme which he had put forward in March. He and his lieutenants continued to preach without ceasing the virtues of the spinning wheel, the satanic character of foreign cloth, the evils of indulgence in drink. Had they confined their movement to exhortation and practical help, their efforts would doubtless have been productive of good. There is much room in India for the introduction of cottage industries, which might to great advantage occupy the weeks when climatic considerations forbid the practice of agriculture. Further, it cannot be denied that the flimsier kinds of imported cloth, which have for so long been fashionable even among the poorest, are less serviceable than home-spun. The temperance question also has for years attracted

**Renewed Activities of
Mr. Gandhi.**

the attention of social reformers. But in all three directions, Mr. Gandhi's campaign was marked by a whirlwind intolerance which in the long run could not fail to hinder the causes he had at heart. Hand-spinning cannot possibly supply India's needs

in the way of cloth: the finer counts of
More Haste Less Speed. material must necessarily be imported.

Moreover, large stocks of English cloth were actually in the country. Hence the attempt to boycott foreign cloth and those who wore it and dealt in it, when carried out by picketting and other methods more impatient than judicious, led to frequent breaches of the peace, and much intolerable intimidation. The price of cloth manufactured in India rose in sympathy with the spectacular bonfires, dear to Mr. Gandhi's heart, of imported garments. Altogether the spinning wheel campaign, while it made home-spun fashionable among the upper classes, did little to achieve its professed object. The like is true of the campaign against alcoholic liquor. Boycott of liquor shops, and ostracism, sometimes accompanied by revolting brutality, of those who resorted to them,

**Some Unexpected Con-
sequences.**

while it led to a considerable fall in excise
 revenue, in many places greatly stimulated
 illicit distillation. The campaign against "un-
 touchability," where it did not fail completely, produced the utmost
 bitterness between the upper castes, jealous of their age-long prerogatives, and the lower, who began to proclaim their right to equal treatment in all social matters. In certain parts of the Bombay Presidency, oddly enough, the lower castes started such an effective boycott of the upper, that the local organs of non-co-operation were driven, in defiance of consistency and with a complete oblivion of the ridiculous, to implore the assistance of Government in suppressing a movement so subversive of decency and order. In other directions, also, Mr. Gandhi's campaign was beginning to produce regrettable results. The boycott of the law courts, preached by his followers, led in some places to the erection of tribunals based, there is some reason to think, upon the analogy of the Sinn Fein Courts in Ireland. Unfortunately in India these tribunals consisted for the most part of ignorant villagers, who after illegally compelling their fellows to submit to their juri diction, prescribed and enforced punishments of revolting brutality for breach of arbitrary decrees. Social ostracism of minor officials, village watchmen and the like led to retaliation and recurrent disorder, in which the non-co-operators bore their share of suffering. As His Excellency

Sir Harcourt Butler had already stated in a speech delivered towards the close of March, the non-co-operation movement was now appearing as a revolutionary movement, "playing on passions and pandering to ignorance." But, from enthusiastic followers of Mr. Gandhi, these disasters were concealed. Fresh activities, new channels of self-expression, were continually forthcoming. All efforts were shortly concentrated upon a "drive" for the Tilak Swaraj Fund; and at

The Tilak Swaraj Fund. the end of July, amidst overwhelming enthusiasm, it was announced that the desired sum of Rupees 10,000,000 had been collected. How much of this money ever materialised, and how much still remains to be realised from unhonoured promises, will probably never be known; since the finances of certain non-co-operating bodies, and their administration of public monies, have long been a scandal and a mockery. But quite apart from the impetus gained by Mr. Gandhi's movement from this spectacular success, the monetary backing which he acquired must have been considerable. Its effects were apparent to the outside world in an immense accession of numbers to the "National Volunteers" and a great stimulus to the more aggressive characteristics of their activity. Indeed, he publicly announced his determination of devoting the Fund "largely" to these purposes. Thus invigorated, Mr. Gandhi announced that he would concentrate all his efforts upon the boycott of foreign cloth which was to be completely achieved before September 30th—when *Swaraj* would be realised—and the universal employment of the spinning wheel. To this last he continued to ascribe mystic virtues, even advocating, as a solution of the North-West Frontier problem, its introduction among the warlike and predatory Border tribes.

Unfortunately, the stern facts of human psychology continued to give the lie to Mr. Gandhi's benevolent dreams of a regenerated India. The lamentable tale of riots and disorders had continued month by month, regardless of his exhortations. Many of these could be traced, without reasonable doubt, to the activities of persons who took his name as their battle cry. The most common cause was mob violence, consequent upon the arrest of "National Volunteers" for breach of the law. At Giridih (Bihar) for example, in April there had been a serious riot connected with the trial of "Volunteers" who had attempted to enforce the decree of a locally constituted

Disorders Increase.

Giridih.

“arbitration committee.” A mob of ten thousand people looted the police station and burned the records after unsuccessfully attempting to storm the jail. In the same month, a much more serious outrage had

Malegaon.

occurred at Malegaon (Bombay), where a brutal outbreak of mob violence arising from the trial of Khilafat workers who had perpetrated intolerable terrorism, resulted in the murder of a sub-inspector and four constables: while almost simultaneously, in the Madras Presidency, “National Volunteers” had come to blows with reserve police. Throughout May, there had been labour troubles in many parts of India, excited in considerable degree by the non-co-operators. The situation in Assam, in particular, was

Assam.

serious: for thousands of simple and ignorant labourers, looking for the advent of the “Gandhi Raj,” when all should eat without toiling and rest without intermission, were being persuaded to break their contracts, to leave their work and their possessions in a pathetic endeavour to make their way home to the villages, often hundreds of miles away, from which they had originally hailed. Strikes on the railways, precipitated by non-co-operation demagogues out of alleged “sympathy,” seriously complicated matters; indeed, until the strikers perceived, to their own bitter indignation, that they were being used as a cat’s paw in the political game, something like a deadlock resulted. Such labourers as were repatriated, either through the efforts of Government or by private charity, often suffered the same cruel disillusioning as had befallen the Muslim emigrants of 1920. Their villages knew them no more: they were strangers, often outcasts. Sadly, amidst much suffering, the movement of mass-immigration subsided. But very untoward results had followed, notably at Chandpur, and the local authorities were freely accused of brutality by the non-co-operators—a charge which only received its quietus when discussed and refuted in the Bengal Legislature. In June, the general state of the country was less disturbed, but in July, sporadic

Madras.

disorders broke out afresh. Labour troubles in Madras, complicated by bitter communal disputes between caste-Hindus and Panchamas, led to formidable rioting, widespread arson, and regrettable loss of life. The hand of the non-co-operator was more directly manifest in riots

Bombay.

at Karachi and Dharwar (Bombay) arising out of aggressive picketing of liquor shops; while the trial of “National Volunteers” led to disturbances at Calcutta

and Chittagong, as well as to a most formidable outbreak of mob rule and anarchy, necessitating the despatch of troops, at Aligarh.

In all these troubles, the prominence of those non-co-operators who specialised in the "Khilafat grievance" was noteworthy. In many cases it was their violence of speech or of action which had

The Activities of the Khilafatists. driven the local authorities to intervene; and generally, they were the people who bore the brunt of the outraged majesty of law. The accusation was indeed freely made by the Muslim section of the non-co-operating press, that the Muhammadan community was taking more than its fair share of the work—and of the penalties—of defying organised authority. Partly no doubt on this account, and partly from the frenzied excitement aroused by the Greek offensive against Angora; by the strained relations between the Turkish Nationalists and His Majesty's Government; and by the failure to secure the desired modification of the Treaty of Sevres, the extreme section of Khilafat opinion began to throw prudence to the winds. Islamic sentiment rose to great heights: the necessity of proclaiming a Holy War was freely canvassed. At the Khilafat Conference held in July at Karachi, the Ali Brothers, as though to compensate for their much-regretted apology, indulged in a violence of speech which exceeded all their previous efforts. They tried once again to force Mr. Gandhi's

The Karachi Resolutions. hand, committing themselves to the position that the programme sanctioned by the Nagpur Congress was a dead letter, and that if no settlement of the Khilafat question was reached by Christmas, the projected National Congress at Ahmedabad would proceed to declare an Indian Republic. Further to their own undoing they called upon Muhammadan soldiers in the Army to desert, alleging that military service under the present Government was religiously unlawful. They called upon all religious leaders to bring home this doctrine to the sepoys. This step finally exhausted the patience of a long-suffering administration. After the interval necessary for examination of the evidence, as will be seen in the next chapter, the two brothers with certain of their adherents, were tried and condemned in accordance with the ordinary law.

Between the Karachi Conference and the prosecution of the principal actors, Mr. Gandhi found himself obliged to take active steps for the repair of the rents everywhere appearing in the fabric of Hindu-Muslim unity. To reassure Hindu sentiment, which was much exercised by

the intolerance displayed at Karachi, he proclaimed his belief that the Ali Brothers did not really intend to depart from the principle of non-violence ; while the demand for independence, even if not universally acceptable, was perfectly permissible under the Congress Creed. For

Mr. Gandhi's Difficulties. the rest, he threw his influence into the task of curbing the impatience of his over-enthusiastic followers. In certain provinces, the non-co-operators, both Hindu and Muslim, had deluded themselves into supposing that they had already broken the power of Government. Mistaking tolerance for timidity and restraint for weakness, they were so blind as to believe that the death-knell of the established system was already ringing. They insistently demanded that "civil disobedience" to constituted authority should be proclaimed, and that a "National" structure of administration, parallel in every respect to the established machinery

Impatient Idealists. of Government should be erected in readiness for the coming of Swaraj. In other words, the advanced wing of the non-co-operation movement was already assuming a revolutionary aspect, which differed only from insurrection in the accepted sense of the term through its loudly advocated, if constantly belied, reliance upon peaceful methods. Whatever sympathy Mr. Gandhi may have had with their ultimate objects, his attitude towards the leaders of this school seems to have been conditioned by his perception that the country was not yet "educated" to the paramount essential of advance along these lines, namely, rigid adherence to the principle of non-violence.

When, early in August, the All India Congress Committee met in Bombay, Mr. Gandhi consistently opposed **His Restraining Influence.** the efforts of the more impatient spirits. All talk of independence or of a Republic was quietly relegated to the background, and after some lively scenes, it was agreed that attention should be concentrated upon the boycott of foreign cloth and the promotion of hand-spinning and weaving ; upon the temperance campaign and upon the promulgation of the doctrine of non-violence. The Committee recommended the postponement, for the present, of civil disobedience until the cloth boycott had been achieved ; but in order to preserve the more zealous from undue discouragement, agreed that civil disobedience might be adopted in any given locality provided the permission of the Working Committee, over which Mr. Gandhi's will was law, were first obtained. Unfortunately there was one further recommendation, the nature of which reflected seriously

upon their appreciation of the dictates of ordinary propriety. This was to the effect that if His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should come to India—the idea of his visit had been for some time “in the air,” the non-co-operators were to boycott all functions arranged in his honour. They added, apparently in all earnestness, that they bore no ill-will to the Prince, but that they regarded the proposed visit as a “political move.”

But while Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Committee were discoursing upon the virtues of non-violence, the activities of those who professed to follow their dictates were sowing seeds soon to germinate into widespread and frightful disorder. The Malabar territory of Madras Presidency, in addition to some two million Hindus, contains about a million persons, of mixed Arab and Indian descent, who under the name of Moplahs, have acquired an unenviable reputation for crime perpetrated under the impulse of religious frenzy. Fanatical Muhammadans, poor and ignorant, under the thumb of a bigoted priesthood, they are prone to sudden waves of religious mania, which inspires them with the simple desire to win the Martyr's crown after killing as many non-Muslims as possible. Systematic attempts have long been made to improve their educational

and economic status : but progress is slow, and meanwhile, the soil is only too responsive to the seed sown by the religious agitator. No fewer than thirty-five outbreaks, principally of a minor kind, have occurred during the period of British Rule ; but among the most terrible of all was that which burst forth in August 1921. As soon as the activities of the Khilafat Committee were in full progress, Government had realised the dangerous consequences which might result from the application of inflammatory propaganda to Malabar. Considerable pains were therefore taken to exclude from the Moplah area the notable figures among Mr. Gandhi's Muhammadan contingent. But during the early months of 1921, excitement spread speedily from mosque to mosque, from village to village. The violent speeches of the Ali Brothers, the early approach of Swaraj as foretold in the non-co-operating press, the July resolutions of the Khilafat Conference—all these combined to fire the train. Throughout July and August innumerable Khilafat meetings were held, in which the resolutions of the Karachi Conference were fervently endorsed. The doctrine spread that “Government was satanic ” and should be paralysed so that “Swaraj ” might be set up. The stipulation of non-violence attracted little attention. Knives, swords and spears

were secretly manufactured, bands of desperados collected, and preparations were made to proclaim the

Origin of the Outbreak. coming of the Kingdom of Islam. Soon policemen were obstructed in the course of their duty. Worse was to follow. On August 20th, when the District Magistrate of Calicut, with the help of troops and police, attempted to arrest certain leaders who were in possession of arms at Tirurangadi, a severe encounter took place, which was the signal for immediate rebellion throughout the whole locality. Roads were blocked, telegraph lines cut, and the railway destroyed in a number of places. The District Magistrate returned to Calicut to prevent the spread of trouble northwards, and the machinery of Government was temporarily reduced to a number of isolated offices and police stations which were attacked by the rebels in detail. Such Europeans as did not succeed in escaping—and they were fortunately few—were murdered with bestial savagery. As soon as the administration had been paralysed, the Moplahs declared that

The Khilafat Raj. Swaraj was established. A certain Ali Musaliar was proclaimed Raja, Khilafat flags were flown, and Ernad and Walluvanad were declared Khilafat Kingdoms. The main brunt of Moplah ferocity was borne, not by Government, but the luckless Hindus who constituted the majority of the population. Somewhat naturally they did not join a purely Muslim revolutionary movement, and accordingly paid a bitter price for their loyalty when the temporary collapse of Government authority placed them at the mercy of their savage neighbours. Massacres, forcible conversions, desecration of temples, foul outrages upon women, pillage, arson and destruction—in short, all the accompaniments of brutal and unrestrained barbarism, were perpetrated freely until such time as troops could be hurried to the task of restoring order throughout a difficult and extensive tract of country. The military aspects of the rebellion have already been sufficiently noticed in a previous chapter, and it only remains in this place to indicate the effect of the tragedy upon the general situation in India.

At first, the attitude of the non-co-operating party was one of incredulity. The accounts of the outrages which

Effect upon Indian Opinion. appeared in the Press were denounced as official inventions, as Machiavellian attempts to divide the Mussalmans from the Hindus. But when the tale of distress and suffering grew daily ; when increasing numbers of desperate Hindu refugees poured into the safe asylum of Calicut ; when the very

office-bearers of the local Congress and Khilafat Committees bore horrified testimony to the conditions which prevailed in Malabar, denials were

Who was to Blame ? impossible. Half-hearted attempts were then

made to show that the non-co-operation movement was not responsible for the tragedy ; that Government had brought all these troubles upon itself by refusing permission to the apostles of peace and non-violence to enter Malabar. These manœuvres availed but little in the face of patent facts. From refugees in the great camps opened by public and private charity at Calicut, accounts were gathered which more than confirmed the most terrible stories of carefully fomented excitement leading to the ebullition of barbarous and fanatical cruelty. Local non-co-operators who obtained permission to enter the disturbed area in order to " pacify " the Moplahs, speedily returned with the admission that they could effect nothing. All over Southern India, a wave of horrified feeling spread among Hindus of every shade of opinion, which was intensified when certain Khilafat leaders were so misguided as to pass resolutions of " congratulation " to the Moplahs on the brave fight they were conducting for the sake of religion. Mr. Gandhi, doubtless deceived by those around him, himself spoke of the " brave God-fearing Moplahs " who were " fighting for what they consider as religion, and in a manner which they consider as religious." However, in the face of unanimous and horrible testimony to Moplah savagery, bloodlust and fanaticism, his endeavours to conciliate Hindu opinion by explanations, denials, and censure of the authorities, did but little to bridge the ever-widening gulf between the two communities. Sane and sober opinion all over the country pointed to the conditions in Malabar as a foretaste of Swaraj, and as a practical example of the dangers inherent in the non-co-operation campaign. None the less Mr. Gandhi persisted in his movement, and brushed aside the Malabar outbreak as a mere incident.

While the activities of Mr. Gandhi and his followers were involving

The Working of the Reforms.

India in turbulence, confusion, and distress, the working of the Reformed Constitution was unmistakably pointing the path along which true progress lay. Between the end of March and the beginning of September, ample evidence was afforded of the desire of the administration to work in fullest sympathy with the new Legislatures. In the provinces, Englishmen and Indians, Ministers and Executive Councillors, laboured strenuously, while the non-official majorities in the Legislature employed their power, some incidents apart, with a growing

sense of responsibility. Much work of a useful kind was accomplished and various remedial measures were introduced, of which an account will be found in another place. In the sphere of the Central Government, the achievements of the working alliance between Government and the Liberals were of the most substantial character. The Committees appointed to examine the Press Acts and "Repressive Legislation" produced in due season reports which gave great satisfaction. The first Committee recommended the repeal of the Press Act and the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, but advocated the amending of the Press and Registration of Books Act in such a way as to strengthen the responsibility of the Indian Press and to protect the Administration against the dissemination of openly seditious literature. The second Committee recommended the repeal of a number of Acts of a kind generally regarded as adversely affecting the liberties of the individual, although in view of the disturbed condition of the

country due to the non-co-operation movement, they agreed to the retention for the

present of the Seditious Meetings Act and the second part of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, which included provisions against illegal associations. Both these Reports were unanimous—a fact of some interest when the mixed official and non-official character of the Committees is considered. A third committee, which sat under the presidency of Lord Rawlinson, considered the military requirements of India in light of the important resolutions which the Legislative Assembly had passed regarding the Esher Report. Its conclusions were forwarded to the Home Government for examination by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. In other directions also the first session of the Central Legislature had already led to results full of promise for the future. A Territorial organisation was started, consisting of seven units for different parts of India and Burma. A scheme was initiated, and sanctioned, for the establishment of an Indian Military College, which

should prepare Indian lads for Sandhurst.

Other Achievements. The Government of India entered into correspondence with the Secretary of State with the object of enabling Indians to qualify for commissions in the Artillery and Engineer services, as well as in the Royal Air Force. Prior to the September session of the new "Parliament," arrangements for the projected Fiscal Commission were well advanced and the members of this body entered upon their important labours before the close of the year.

Thus when Lord Reading opened in State at Simla the second Session of the Central Legislature he was able to refer with justifiable pride to the work already accomplished under the Reformed Constitution. In the course of his inaugural speech the Viceroy announced the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

“You will remember, that a little more than a year ago, His Majesty the King Emperor by Royal Proclamation informed the Princes and people of India of his decision that the visit of the

Prince of Wales to India must be deferred for a time in order that His Royal Highness might recover from the fatigue of his labours in other parts of the Empire. We have recently heard to our great joy that the health of His Royal Highness has been sufficiently restored to enable the visit to take place in November next. The ceremony of inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures which was to have been his, has been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and India will not readily forget the sympathy and love which inspired him, the devoted friend of India, in the discharge of his

The Royal Visit.

great mission. The Prince of Wales will come to India on this occasion as the son of the King-Emperor and as the Heir to the Throne, not as the representative of any Government or to promote the interests of any political party, but in order to become personally acquainted with the Princes and the people of India and to see as much as will be possible during his visit to this most interesting country. I know that I may safely count on those who belong to this great Indian Empire, and more particularly on the representatives of the Reformed Legislatures now gathered within these walls, to give to His Royal Highness who has endeared himself to all who have been privileged to meet him, a warm welcome characteristic of the traditional loyalty of the Indian people and their devotion to the King Emperor and His House.”

The Viceroy then passed to another matter which had of late excited deep public interest. In the case of certain persons charged with munitions frauds, proceedings had been suddenly withdrawn by Government. Adverse comment was made by a large section of the Indian and English Press. When it was found that the Member for Industries, Sir Thomas Holland, had acted in the matter without consulting

His Excellency the Viceroy, the volume of criticism became overwhelming and Sir Thomas

The Munitions Cases.

Holland placed his resignation in the hands of Lord Reading. The

position of the Government in the matter of the prosecutions had already been explained to the public, and the references of the Viceroy in his inaugural speech represented the last chapter in this unfortunate episode; which had recently deprived India of the services of one who had done much for her industrial advancement.

“ You will already have learnt that the resignation tendered by Sir Thomas Holland has been accepted by His Majesty. In communicating to me the regret, with which he had reached his conclusion, the Secretary of State expresses his general sense of the importance of the contribution which Sir Thomas Holland had made to the Industrial development of India. The Secretary of State further records his appreciation of the high ability and strenuous labours which Sir Thomas Holland devoted during the war to the task of organising and increasing the supply of munitions. His services then rendered were of the highest value, not only to India but to the Empire, which the Secretary of State gratefully recognises. I associate myself with the tribute and add only that my regret is the greater because I lose a colleague in the Council with whom I have been associated from the moment I became Viceroy. The facts and conclusions of my Government have already been placed before you in the official statement published by my Government and I need not refer to them again. The public felt, and beyond all doubt rightly felt, that the proceedings in Court had shaken the very foundations of justice. Fundamental principles of administration and justice had been violated, and the acceptance of the resignation was therefore inevitable. Our conclusions were announced only in relation to the proceedings in Court and to the omission to refer to me as the head of the Government. Lest there should be any misapprehension, I must, however, add, on my own behalf and that of my colleagues, that the existence of civil suits against the Government by the accused should be entirely disregarded in relation to the criminal case. Their unconditional withdrawal ought not to have any influence upon consideration of the withdrawal of the prosecution.”

The Viceroy then proceeded to survey external affairs: the then unsettled relations with Afghanistan: the operations in Waziristan: the Greco-Turkish hostilities so distressing to Indian Muslims: the representation of India on the League of Nations: the notable efforts of India's delegates at the Imperial Conference, which had raised the status of their country

in the councils of the Empire. Turning to internal affairs, he adverted with sympathy and regret to the terrible Moplah outbreak.

“It is obvious from the reports received that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence, and no effort had been spared to rouse the passions and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs, armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the Police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house-breaking. The Police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals, and the significance of the

incident is, that it was regarded as a defeat
The Moplah Outburst. of the police and, therefore, of the Government.

Additional troops and special police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known, although it is impossible at present to state the number of the innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the Press and I shall not recapitulate them. The situation is now, to all intents and purposes, in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the military and naval assistance for which we are duly grateful, although some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the civil Government resumed. But consider the sacrifice of life and property! A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed, Government offices burnt and looted, and records have been destroyed, Hindu temples sacked, houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt. According to reports, Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam, and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of Civil Government, offices and courts have ceased to function, and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut, and it is satisfactory to know that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut.”

Passing the general question of internal unrest, His Excellency

remarked “To us who are responsible for
 the peace and good government of this great
 Empire, and I trust to men of sanity and com-

**Non-Co-operation and
 Civil Disobedience.**

mon sense in all classes of society, it must be clear that defiance of the Government and constituted authority can only result in widespread

disorder, in political chaos, in anarchy and in ruin. There are signs that the activity of the movement, or at least of one section of it, may take a form of even a more direct challenge to law and order. There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law, in some cases, I regret to say, accompanied by an open recognition that such a course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have even been made by some fanatical followers of Islam to seduce His Majesty's soldiers and police from their allegiance, attempts that have, I am glad to say, met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect the lives and property of all law-abiding citizens, and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful avocations and above all, we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected."

After briefly surveying the solid achievements that had resulted from co-operation between the Government and the Legislature, Lord Reading expressed the anxiety of his administration to consider two questions of great moment, namely the well-being of Indian labour, and the tension which unhappily existed between Englishmen and Indians. In the first connection he referred to a bill to amend the Indian Factories Act, to Workmen's Compensation, to the protection of Trade Unions, and to the adoption of arbitration in labour disputes. In the second connection, he mentioned the desire of Government to examine the differences of legal procedure applicable to the criminal trials of Indians and of Europeans. He concluded his address, amidst sustained applause, by an eloquent appeal to the members of the Legislature to remember that their duty was not confined to their work within the Chamber, but included also the obligation of going abroad among the people.

The session thus happily inaugurated proved every whit as successful as that which had been held at Delhi in the course of the preceding cold weather.

Both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State unanimously resolved to present an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his forthcoming visit, as well as to extend their cordial greetings to Lord Reading. Both bodies then proceeded to deal with urgent business. Adjournments to consider the Moplah troubles displayed the steady support of the Legislature to the policy which Government was adopting, combined with the anxiety of the members

to be satisfied that the administration of Martial Law in the disturbed area was free from those blemishes which had distinguished it in certain parts of the Punjab in 1919. Among other matters which attracted the attention of the members, reference must be made to the

removal of certain racial disabilities and to the improvement of the status of Indians. As a result of a resolution for the removal of distinctions between Indian and European members of the Indian Civil Service in regard to criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects; and for the removal of distinctions between Indians and Europeans in regard to trial, sentence and appeal, Government agreed to appoint a Committee to consider what amendments could be made in the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and to report on the best methods of giving effect to their proposals. Equality of status for Indians in the East African Colonies and Protectorates in accordance with the Government of India's despatch of the 21st of October 1921 was also demanded, and Government gave a satisfactory assurance that it was determined to abide by the principle of equal citizenship. The admission of Indians to responsible positions in the Secretariat was also requested, and Government agreed that Indians should be given opportunities for becoming qualified for the posts referred to. The topic of constitutional advance also occupied the attention of both Chambers. A suggestion that the Legislature should adopt the practice followed at Westminster of voting an address after the speech from the Throne, was set aside for examination. A resolution relating to the grant of provincial autonomy

and responsibility in the Central Government on the termination of the existing Legislatures, and the grant of full Dominion status at the end of 9 years was debated at length. Finally a formula suggested by Government as summing up the general attitude of the Assembly was moved as an amendment and carried. This recommended that the Governor General in Council should convey to the Secretary of State the Assembly's view that the progress made by India on the path of Responsible Government warrants a re-examination and revision of the present constitution at an earlier date than 1931. Financial matters also occupied the attention of

the Assembly, supplementary grants being carefully scrutinised, and sanctioned with discretion. All demands were passed save that which was proposed to meet the expenses of the projected Indian tour of Lord Lytton's Committee dealing with the grievances of Indian students in

the United Kingdom. A noticeable feature of the discussions on the supplementary grants was the manner in which members of the Finance Committee supported Government in putting forward items they had themselves previously passed. This Committee now constitutes a link between the Government and the Legislature which promises fully to justify the wisdom of those responsible for the experiment. A further addition to the strength of the position occupied by the Assembly resulted from the introduction of the new Income Tax Bill, which relates solely to matters of administration and, in accordance with the English practice, leaves the imposition of any particular rate of tax to come up every year before the Legislature. Much useful legislation of other kinds was also undertaken.

Legislative Measures. Six resolutions dealing with the recommendations of the Geneva Labour Conference were

passed; effect was given to the recommendations of the Press Act Committee by the introduction of a Government measure; and some private Bills of considerable importance were introduced. Of all these particulars will be found elsewhere. Social reform occupied a certain amount of attention, among the topics discussed being the introduction of religious and moral education in aided and Government schools and colleges; and the temperance movement, with which the Assembly expressed its sympathy. Consistent attention was directed to Industrial

Industrial Matters. affairs; resolutions dealing with the purchase of Government materials, with the encouragement of sugar industry, with the Railway Committee Report being eagerly debated. Important resolutions designed to encourage the separation of judicial and executive functions, dealing with the construction of the Sukkur Barrage Irrigation project, and with the reduction of contributions from the provinces to the Central Government, were also adopted.

The output of work during this session was large; while the atmosphere in which it was achieved was at once cordial and full of promise for the future. Among other noteworthy events, mention should be made of the initiation of the party system. Certain members turned their organising capacity to the creation of a group which should vote *en bloc* on certain agreed issues. They owed much to Dr. Gour, a well-known lawyer from the Central Provinces who had made his mark from the commencement of the first session, as well as to the debating ability of certain Madras representatives, among whom Mr. Rangachariar, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and Mr. Subrahmanayam, deserve particular

mention. A member from Burma, Mr. Ginwalla, was appointed chief whip, and the leading figures of the party were placed in charge of particular topics--finance, education and the like. These early beginnings promise to produce considerable results in the future.

CHAPTER IV.

Later Developments.

The Position in October.

During the month of October Mr. Gandhi devoted his personal attention to the cloth boycott campaign, which received considerable stimulus from his tours in the United Provinces, Bengal and Madras. In the last area, however, the effect upon Hindu opinion of the Moplah atrocities was already becoming marked, and evidence was not lacking of the increasing labours sustained by Mr. Gandhi in his endeavours to preserve the solidity of his party. At this time, it would appear, he experienced some difficulties both from the Khilafat extremists, who were frankly disappointed by his continued insistence upon the canon of non-violence, and from the shrewd politicians of Maharashtra who failed to discern in what manner political Swaraj could be achieved through the cloth campaign. During the month of October; indeed, it seemed that the non-co-operation movement was weakening certainly the propaganda on the part of Moderates against it was increasing in vehemence.

But the damage which it had already wrought was apparent. Racial feeling increased to such a degree that the position of British officers in the various services became in certain localities almost unbearable. Deep and bitter complaints were voiced at the impossibility of serving India effectively in an atmosphere of hostility, distrust and persecution. Moreover, defiance of constituted authority was plainly on the increase; and despite the best efforts of the administration, a spirit of disorder was spreading. The prohibition of mass civil disobedience in the Congress Working Committee held in October, seemed to exert a temporarily depressing influence upon the progress of non-co-operation. The prosecution of the Ali Brothers, to which reference was made in the last chapter, passed off quietly—a severe blow to the pretensions of the aggressive section of their party. In the course of the trial which took place at Karachi in October, the Judge pointed out that however permissible the Khilafat movement might have been in the earlier stages, those who were controlling it

soon began to rely upon dangerous religious propaganda. They openly gloried in hatred of the British Government, and maintained "first, that their religion compels them to do certain acts : secondly, that no law which restrains them from doing those acts which their religion compels them to do has any validity : and thirdly, that in answer to the charge of breaking the law of the land, it is sufficient to raise and prove the plea that the act which is alleged to be an offence is one which is enjoined by their religion." The Ali Brothers were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

Meanwhile preparations were being busily pursued for the reception.

Objects of the Prince's Tour.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In reply to the allegations, already noticed, that the Prince was coming to serve some political end, Lord Reading made plain the real position beyond all possibility of doubt. "I desire, with all the authority at my command, emphatically to repudiate these suggestions, and to assure the Indian people that neither I nor my Government have ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness' visit for political purposes. I fully acknowledge that there are many matters of public policy upon which serious and even acute differences of opinion obtain in this country. I and my Government have always been and still are, most desirous of reconciling these differences and solving these problems. But the Prince of Wales stands apart from and above all such political controversies. His Royal Highness' visit to India is in accordance with the precedent set by his august Father and Grandfather, and he comes to India as the Heir to the Throne and the future Emperor of India, and in that capacity alone. His reception will not be a test of opinions that may be held on the political problems and differences of the day, but will be a test of the loyalty and attachment of the people of India towards the Crown itself."

It would be unreasonable to maintain that the larger portion of the Indian people required any such admonition, since from the moment when the visit of His Royal Highness was finally settled, considerable

Preparations for the Visit.

enthusiasm prevailed among those many persons who desired to set eyes upon their future Emperor. Care was taken that India's welcome to the Prince should be truly Indian in character. An influential Royal Visit Advisory Commtee, on which sat Ruling Princes and Indian Politicians, was constituted at Simla to assist Government in settling

the details of the Prince's programme. Separate sub-committees dealt with Press arrangements, finance and others of the multifarious topics which emerged for discussion. Very eager was the competition on the part of various interests for the honour of entertaining the Prince and the restrictions imposed by a four-months time-limit resulted in many heart-burnings. In the Provinces, preparations were equally active. Reception Committees and Programme Committees were constituted, principally of Indians, in all those places which the Prince was to visit. Had one-half of the engagements so eagerly suggested in each town been suffered to stand, it may safely be said that scarcely in a year could His Royal Highness have fulfilled them. Great was the tact and infinite the patience required of those in whose hands the final decision lay. At length all was ready. A certain amount of disappointment, naturally, was caused ; but on the whole, the fixture list commended itself to all. As the days drew on, the Press of India devoted more and more attention to the personality of the Prince ; to his Imperial activities ; to his various pronouncements. There was no doubt as to the interest which such information possessed for the reading public.

In November, however, the non-co-operation movement assumed a new and infinitely more dangerous aspect.

Non-co-operation Activities. At the beginning of the month the All-India Congress Committee authorised every province to commence civil disobedience, subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, of which the most important were the guarantee of a non-violent atmosphere, and the complete boycott of foreign cloth. The Provincial Congress Committee of Gujarat took the lead and allowed the Bardoli and Anand *talugs* to prepare for mass civil disobedience. In the former area the movement was to begin on November the 23rd under the personal direction of Mr. Gandhi. Meanwhile this leader issued a manifesto calling upon all Government servants who could support themselves to leave their service and rally to the Congress flag ; advising all localities to organize meetings and support the Karachi resolutions for which the Ali Brothers had been prosecuted ; and peremptorily enjoining the complete boycott of foreign cloth before the end of the month. Thus stimulated, the activities of the non-co-operation party redoubled. The number of Khilafat and Non-co-operation meetings rose to unprecedented heights, and a steady stream of inflammatory oratory was poured forth. Hostility to Government increased, encouraging the tendency towards general lawlessness. The

volunteer movement became more formidable : intimidation was freely practised, and the police were molested in the exercise of their duty. The design of erecting an administration parallel to that of Government, which should be ready on the slightest warning to take over the whole regulation of the country, was freely bruited. Some idea of the programme which local leaders intended to follow may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Dip Narayan Singh, a well-known

Revolutionary Designs. non-co-operator in Bihar. According to him, a notice calling upon Government to grant

Swaraj within seven days would first be served upon the chief civil officer present in the locality selected for civil disobedience. Subsequently the residents of that particular locality would be directed to disobey all orders and laws of Government, and to refuse to pay taxes, to register documents, or to perform any of the ordinary acts of recognition. At the same time police stations and Courts would be surrounded, and the officials told to deposit their uniforms and other badges of office. Thereafter police stations, offices, and Courts would be treated as Swaraj property. The whole of this ambitious programme was to be achieved by insistence upon non-violence ; but, as may be well imagined, announcements of the kind quoted were not calculated to inspire the ignorant and the unlettered with any reluctance to employ force in the achievement of that Swaraj which, as they had frequently been told, would prove for them a golden age. All too soon this became undeniably apparent.

November 17th, the day of the Prince's arrival in Bombay dawned

The Prince Arrives. with all the splendid promise of an Indian winter morning. To welcome the Prince there

had gathered at Bombay not merely the Viceroy and a large number of Ruling Princes, but also leading business men and landed aristocrats from all parts of the Presidency. Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm His Royal Highness landed on the shore of India, and was received rapturously by a large and distinguished gathering. As a fitting commencement of his beneficent activities, he delivered a message from His Majesty the King Emperor :—

“ On this day, when my son lands for the first time upon

The Imperial Message. your shores I wish to send through him my greetings to you, the Princes and Peoples

of India. His coming is a token and a renewal of the pledges of affection which it has been the heritage of our House to re-affirm to you. My father when Prince of Wales counted it his privilege to see

and seeing to understand the great Empire in the East over which it was to be his destiny to rule ; and I recall with thankfulness and pride that when he was called to the Throne, it fell to me to follow his illustrious example. With this same hope and in this same spirit my son is with you to-day. The thought of his arrival brings with a welcome vividness to my mind the happy memories I have stored of what I myself have learned in India ; its charm and beauty, its immemorial history, its noble monuments, and above all, the devotion of India's faithful people, since proved, as if by fire, in their response to the Empire's call in the hour of its greatest need. These memories will ever be with me as I trace his steps, my heart is with him as he moves amongst you, and with mine the heart of the Queen Empress, whose love for India is no less than mine. To friends whose loyalty we and our fathers have treasured, he brings this message of trust and hope. My sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabated. During recent years my thoughts have been yet more constantly with you. Throughout the civilised world, the foundations of social order have been tested by war and change. Wherever citizenship exists, it has had to meet the test, and India like other countries has been called on to face new and special problems of her own. For this task her armoury is in new powers and new responsibilities with which she has been equipped. That with the help of these, aided by the ready guidance of my Government and its officers, you will bring those problems to an issue worthy of your historic past and of happiness for your future ; that all disquiet will vanish in well-ordered progress, is my earnest wish and my confident belief. Your anxieties and your rejoicings are my own. In all that may touch your happiness, in all that gives you hope and promotes your welfare, I feel with you in the spirit of sympathy. My son has followed from afar your fortunes. It is now his ambition, by his coming among you, to ripen good will into a yet fuller understanding. I trust and believe when he leaves your shores your hearts will follow him and his will stay with you, and that one link more will be added to the golden chain of sympathy which for these many years has held my throne to India. And it is my warmest prayer that wisdom and contentment growing hand in hand will lead India into increasing national greatness within a free Empire, the Empire for which I labour and for which, if it be the Divine Will, my son shall labour after me."

The enthusiasm aroused among the spectators by this gracious message was confirmed and augmented by the Prince's own reply to the address of the Bombay Corporation. In a few simple sentences, spoken

straight from the heart, he outlined the purpose of his mission and the spirit in which he undertook it.

“ I need not tell you that I have been looking forward to my visit and have been eagerly awaiting the opportunities of seeing India and making friends there. I want to appreciate at first hand all

The Keynote of the Visit.

that India is, and has done and can do. I want to grasp your difficulties and to understand your aspirations. I want you to know me and I want to know you.”

The procession of His Royal Highness from the Apollo Bunder to Government House was a conspicuous triumph. Every yard of the route, more than four miles long, was crowded with spectators, and at the lowest computation there must have been over two hundred thousand people assembled. The enthusiasm spread like wild-fire, the warmth and volume of the welcome increased at every yard. Thus it was that Bombay welcomed her honoured visitor—a right royal welcome in the fullest sense of the terms.

Unfortunately there was another side to the picture. The local non-co-operators had for some weeks been concentrating their efforts upon the task of spoiling the unanimity of the welcome.

Fruits of Non-co-operation.

They had inoculated the more turbulent elements of the population with a determination to break the peace. Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting held simultaneously with the Prince's landing, at which the attendance was disappointing. But the hooligan element, giving no heed to his admonitions against the use of violence, was even at that moment engaged in terrorising those other elements of the population who desired to welcome the Prince. Parsi and European passers-by were severely assaulted by mobs armed with bludgeons. Trancars were damaged, rails torn up motor cars destroyed, and liquor shops set on fire. Disorder developed rapidly owing to the withdrawal of numbers of police and military to the processional route. As soon as the forces of order arrived on the scene, the situation became more quiet. Numerous arrests were made and on several occasions fire had to be opened upon violent mobs. Serious rioting lasted for nearly three days, as a result of which the total casualty list amounted to 53 killed and approximately 400 wounded. Too late, Mr. Gandhi attempted to stop the disturbances by personal appeals, and he issued a series of pathetic proclamations in which he sternly rebuked his followers and stated that the outbreak of mob

violence had convinced him that his hopes of reviving mass civil disobedience were illusory. "With non-violence on our lips" he wrote, "we have terrorised those who happened to differ from us. The *Swaraj* that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils." And he openly admitted his responsibility. "I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being a spirit of revolt, I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit." Nor was the trouble of the 17th of November confined to

The Volunteers at Work. Bombay. Throughout Calcutta and the principal towns of Northern India, there was a general cessation of business, produced in the majority of cases by undisguised and open intimidation on the part of "national volunteers." Violence and obstruction of every kind were freely employed, inflicting the gravest inconvenience upon law-abiding citizens, and for the moment discounting the authority of the State. The terrorism practised by the volunteers not merely transcended all bounds but was widespread, organised and simultaneous. It became clear that unless prompt and adequate measures were taken, the stability of the established order would be threatened by the almost complete effacement of authority.

The ebullition of mob violence in Bombay and elsewhere made a deep impression upon Mr. Gandhi. Indeed **Mr. Gandhi Shaken.** his embarrassingly candid pronouncements aroused the resentment of certain of his followers who shared neither his high ideals nor his altruistic motives. In previous portions of this narrative mention has been made of Mr. Gandhi's expression of repentance for the regrettable consequences which from time to time have resulted from his campaign. In no case, as we have seen, has that repentance or regret been of such force and duration as to cause him to suspend his activities. But the Bombay events seriously shook his belief in the capacity of India to sustain, in a non-violent manner, the acid test of civil disobedience. Accordingly, he suspended his intention of starting civil disobedience on the 23rd at Bardoli, and announced his determination to concentrate upon the production of a non-violent atmosphere.

The lamentable outbreak at Bombay, when taken in conjunction with the simultaneous *hartals*, violence, obstruction and lawlessness in many other parts of India, brought Government face to face with a new and formidable aspect of the non-co-operation movement.

It had for some time been plain that the outbreaks of the last few months were leading to the growth of a dangerous spirit of anarchy and an increasing disregard for lawful authority.

Government Move.

As previously mentioned, Government had been throughout alive to the serious nature of Mr. Gandhi's campaign ; but they had persisted in their declared policy towards it, not because they distrusted their own powers, not because they were fettered by higher authority, but because they believed it necessary to carry with them, in any steps taken against the non-co-operation movement, the approval and acquiescence of Indian opinion. They knew that this movement was largely engendered and sustained by nationalist aspirations in the case of the Hindus, and by religious feeling in the case of the Muhammadans—two motives which inevitably appealed strongly to many persons who did not adopt Mr. Gandhi's programme. They realised that in the changed position of India under the new constitution it was impossible, without damage to the declared policy of His Majesty's Government, to embark upon a campaign of repression which, if effective, would have intensified racial feeling, paralysed the Liberals, and nullified the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Therefore, while consistently punishing open incitements to violence and pursuing the other activities already described, they had exercised towards those who professed to observe non-violence as much forbearance as was compatible with their own responsibilities. The disorders which had for some time afflicted India assumed a new and more dangerous aspect when viewed in conjunction with the general *hartals* and widespread intimidation of November 17th. Further, it was plain that the campaign which had produced these untoward results was augmenting rather than diminishing in violence. On the one hand, the fervid oratory displayed at non-co-operation meetings was producing a cumulative effect upon the mentality of the average man. On the other, it was undeniable that all proceedings under the ordinary criminal law had proved ineffective to restrain the violence and intimidation upon which many of the volunteer associations had embarked. Finally the announcement of a campaign of civil disobedience in Gujarat seemed to threaten that this movement, if not decisively checked, would spread to other provinces. In these circumstances, Government determined to supplement their anti-non-co-operation activities by employing, for the defence of society and of the state, certain Acts conferring extraordinary powers upon the Executive. Local Governments were accordingly informed that for the purpose

of checking the increasing volume of inflammatory speeches the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to any district in which it was considered necessary would be sanctioned. They were also instructed that the provisions of Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 should be vigorously employed for combating the illegal activities of the volunteer associations, whose drilling, picketing and intimidation were threatening the peace of the country. The Government of India further called for more vigorous action on the part of the police in protecting peaceful citizens from terrorism : urged that every effort should be made to prevent the seduction of constables and soldiers : and instructed the provincial administrations to deal promptly with incitements to violence, to sedition, to the inception of civil disobedience.

Local Governments were not slow to take action on these lines. Some had already issued instructions to their officers to the same effect. From this time forward, a steadily increasing pressure was exerted upon those forms of non-co-operation activity which were directed towards the effacement of law and order.

Reception of the New Policy.

The simultaneous outbreaks of November 17th, and the intimidation so widely practised, came as a great shock to Liberal opinion. It was now clear to all reasonable Indians that whatever Mr. Gandhi's intentions might be, the fruit of his campaign was little short of anarchy. A strong wave of protest passed over the country. In this European opinion emphatically joined, and Government was attacked with considerable vigour for having allowed the non-co-operation movement to assume such a dangerous aspect. Civil Guards were organised in certain places to assist the police : a determination was evinced to eradicate terrorism. While the local administrations were not slow to take advantage of the change in public sentiment, Lord Reading himself embraced the opportunity afforded by the presentation to him of various addresses to make plain the position of his Government. He emphasised in his replies the determination of the State to spare no effort to protect peaceful law-abiding citizens against violence, coercion, intimidation, or other breaches of the law. But among the first effects of the action taken by Government against the volunteers was the arrest of a considerable number of high-minded and much respected persons who were believed by many Indians to be animated by motives of disinterested patriotism. The prosecution and conviction both of these people

and of a number of immature and misguided students led to a disappointing revulsion on the part of moderate sentiment. Further, the Seditious Meetings Act

Moderate Uneasiness. falls within the category of those enactments which Indian opinion stigmatises as "repressive"; and its application, even in the circumstances already related, gave rise to uneasiness. There became manifest a noticeable inclination to represent the new policy as an interference, for political purposes, with the rights of freedom of speech and of freedom of association; and on this ground a disposition was shown to make common cause with the extremists in attacking Government. With some members of the Moderate Party, this attitude seems to have been due to the belief that the latest manifestation of Government policy was calculated to cement that unity among the non-co-operators which was now fast breaking down under the influence of internal dissensions; and to supply the movement with a new and undesirable lease of life. In part also, it seems to have been due to sympathy for high-minded, if mistaken, people who were the earliest victims of the majesty of the law, and in part, to a general belief that the powers now employed by the executive were being misused in an oppressive manner by subordinates. At this juncture Government acted with the utmost care. The key-note of official policy was to allow the Moderates to

Tactful Handling. experience for themselves that bankruptcy in reason and statesmanship which distinguished the extreme section of the non-co-operating party. To the success of this policy, which resulted in the gradual reassuring of Liberal opinion, the great judicial reputation of Lord Reading, and the admirable temper of his speeches, materially contributed. Instructions were issued that in the prosecution of volunteers, evidence should be recorded in full and all legal formalities scrupulously observed: and consistent efforts were made to dispel the impression — which the non-co-operators steadily fostered—that Government was embarking upon a policy of indiscriminate arrests and vindictive severity towards even the most peaceful activities of Mr. Gandhi's party. When certain of the Moderates displayed a great anxiety to arrange a compromise by means of a Round Table Conference, Lord Reading did indeed make plain

The "Round Table" Project. the fact that nothing could be done until the non-co-operation party discontinued open breaches of the law, and the practice of intimidation; but he did not discourage efforts which were so plainly well-

intentioned. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the other would be peace-makers found that it was Mr. Gandhi who was adamant. As if anxious to discount the charges of weakness freely brought against him by his own followers in connection with his Bombay pronouncements, he demanded, as a preliminary to any conference, the withdrawal of the recent proscription of the volunteer organisations and the release of all persons—including the Ali Brothers—recently convicted for what he described as non-violent activities. He on his part announced his intention of continuing the recruitment of his volunteers and of pushing on preparations for civil disobedience, the project of which he had again revived. Accordingly when the deputation of intermediaries waited upon the Viceroy in Calcutta, they were not in a position to put forward, on behalf of the non-co-operators, any pledges of good behaviour of the kind which Government could accept. Lord Reading's reply, delivered on the 21st of December, fully explained the reasons which led Government to enforce special Acts; emphasised his determination to protect law-abiding subjects, and, further, in view of the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, conveyed grave warning as to the effect likely to be produced on the public and Parliament of the United Kingdom by affronts offered to the Heir to the Throne. His Excellency insisted also as a condition precedent even to the discussion of any project of a conference, on the imperative necessity for the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party. This speech, combined with the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Gandhi, exercised a steadying effect on Moderate opinion, which was shortly confirmed in its traditional dislike of the non-co-operation movement by the events of the next four weeks. When the Annual Conference of the Liberal Federation met in Allahabad, sympathy was expressed for the difficulties of Government, and while the administration was requested to exercise every care in the execution of its new policy, that policy was supported and endorsed.

While these events were in progress, the Prince had been steadily pursuing his tour of India. The welcome which had been given to him by the responsible sections of the population in Bombay found an enthusiastic echo in Poona, whither he proceeded to lay the foundation stone of the All-India Shivaji Memorial. The character of the duty which he was undertaking, combined with the Prince's own personal charm, to make him

the idol of the great landlords and the sturdy peasantry of Maharashtra. Throughout the whole course of his tour, no scenes were more impressive than the great outburst of popular devotion which took place at the ancient capital of the Maratha Empire. After a few more days at Bombay, rendered notable for the ever-growing enthusiasm even of elements previously recalcitrant, the Prince started on a lengthy tour of the Indian States. Baroda, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, all welcomed him with the greatest delight. From Bharatpur, early in December, the

His Personal Triumphs.

Prince once again entered British India. At Lucknow despite the efforts of the local non-co-operators, he received an enthusiastic welcome both from the inhabitants of the city and from the rustics of the countryside. He delighted all who were privileged to come into contact with him—officials, serving soldiers, policemen, pensioners—by his frank and kindly interest, his sportsmanship and his affability. He won the heart of Lucknow—as indeed, he did of every place whose inhabitants were free to meet him. But his visit to Allahabad and Benares almost synchronised with the arrest, for defiance of the law, of certain leading non-co-operators greatly beloved by the student community. In consequence, in both these places, the reception given to His Royal Highness was disappointing. After a week's shooting in Nepal, he came to Patna, where again his welcome was excellent, although its unanimity was to some extent marred by a *hartal*. Thence he passed to Calcutta. Here, the non-co-operators, in defiance alike of prudence and propriety, had made great efforts, to procure a boycott of the festivities connected with the visit. Again, the charm of his personality conquered. On the first day *hartal* was observed in the northern part of the city, but his reception by the loyal elements of the population was none the less enthusiastic. Thereafter all difficulties ceased. Even the non-co-operating party, against their will, as it were, found themselves attracted to the festivities which marked that brilliant week. Before he left for Burma, on the eve of the New Year, he had succeeded in winning the hearts of thousands. There was a perceptible relaxation of the political tension and all law-abiding citizens breathed more freely for his visit.

The meeting of the Indian National Congress and of the All-India Muslim League which took place in December at Ahmedabad attracted little attention. For

The Congress and Muslim League.

one thing a large number of the more prominent leaders were at the moment in prison for their defiance of the law.

For another, the presence of the Prince of Wales in Calcutta, and the brilliant festivities which accompanied his welcome distracted public attention from what is normally the principal journalistic event of Christmas week. But undiscouraged by these symptoms, Mr. Gandhi and such of his supporters as rallied to Ahmedabad proceeded to formulate resolutions of a type more dangerous even than those to which they had previously given their adherence. It was determined that the volunteer organisations should be extended, and that all persons should be invited to join them for the purpose of organising civil disobedience. This was defined as the deliberate and wilful breach of State-made non-moral laws, for the purpose of diminishing the authority of or overthrowing, the State. Individual civil disobedience was sanc-

Further Aggression. tioned immediately; while mass civil disobedience, of an aggressive character, was to be undertaken as soon as the country had been adequately prepared for it. To the process of preparation the whole of the activities of the Congress were now to be directed. In the course of the discussions Mr. Gandhi, who was appointed as the sole repository of the executive authority of the Congress, with power to nominate his own successor, announced that Lord Reading must clearly understand that the non-co-operators were at war with the Government. Advanced as these resolutions might seem they did not go so far as the extreme section of the Khilafat party desired. The hopes of this section had recently suffered a severe blow by the conclusion of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, to which reference is made in the first chapter of this Report. That the leading Muslim Kingdom of Central Asia should have bound herself to neighbourly relations with the Government which they had stigmatised as unholy, was somewhat embarrassing. Hence, while sober Hindu and Muslim opinion was thereby much relieved, the more fanatical Khilafatists persisted in their attitude. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, the President of the All-India Muslim League, frankly voiced the preference of his section of opinion for an immediate declaration of complete independence, unaccompanied by any embarrassing prohibition of the use of force. He also defended the conduct of the Moplahs towards the Hindus on the plea that in the course of "defensive war for the sake of their religion" they were hindered and not helped by non-Muslim neighbours. In the Congress he expressed the feeling of many people among the rank and

Mr. Gandhi's Difficulties. file of the non-co-operators, when he challenged, at least by implication, the success of Mr. Gandhi's non-violent campaign as evidenced by a year of trial. And

although Mr. Gandhi's personal influence was sufficient once more to unite the divergent sections of his followers into the appearance of unity, there can be little doubt that the tone of the Ahmedabad debates materially assisted in banishing from his mind the remembrance of the Bombay tragedy. He began once more to resume the thread of his former activities, and to revive the scheme of initiating civil disobedience at Bardoli. But the truth is that his influence as a political leader was now beginning to decline. While his personality still excited all the old reverence, the faith of his followers in the efficacy of his programme was severely shaken. It was becoming apparent to all that non-co-operation had failed to realise the expectations of its begetter. Swaraj had not been realised, despite successive postponements of the date of its arrival; and the passage of December 31st without the introduction of the millennium, came as a severe awakening to many simple souls. Government was stronger than ever; the volunteer movement was steadily succumbing to the pressure of the authorities; the stream of seditious eloquence, both from press and platform, was diminishing to insignificant proportions. Nevertheless, Mr. Gandhi, so his followers realised, was still the main asset of non-co-operation. He cast over it the halo of his own sanctity: his personality alone could lend a show of unanimity to the rapidly diverging aims of conflicting elements. Without his name as their talisman, the influence of local 'leaders' over the masses would be small indeed. Hence along with a growing inclination to question the infallibility of his political foresight, there went a continued realisation of his indispensability. But even this was to be sadly shaken in the course of the next three months.

Renewed Attempts at Conference.

In the middle of January a number of politicians outside the Congress ranks, undiscouraged by the previous failure of other mediators, attempted once more to arrange a basis for a Conference between the non-co-operators and Government. This Conference was presided over by Sir C. Sankaran Nair who had recently resigned his membership of the Secretary of State's Council in order to assume high office in an Indian State. Mr. Gandhi attended, in the capacity of an adviser, but to the disgust and disappointment of those who had arranged the Conference his attitude was every whit as unyielding as that which had led to the breakdown of the previous attempt at a compromise. In reference to impossible conditions which Government were asked to accept without question, he reserved the right to continue the enrolment of volunteers,

and to push forward his preparations for civil disobedience. This attitude led to the withdrawal of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, who not only condemned the attitude of the non-co-operators in a widely published and influential communication to the Press, but further damaged their cause and exposed their pretensions in a powerful pamphlet. The organisers of the Conference, however, persisted in their well-nigh hopeless task until Mr. Gandhi himself cut the ground from under their feet by issuing an ultimatum to the Viceroy. In order to comprehend this attitude, it is necessary to remember that Mr. Gandhi's position at the time was somewhat embarrassing. The measures taken by Government against the volunteers were rapidly proving successful to a degree which

**Further Difficulties of
Mr. Gandhi.**

the non-co-operation party had certainly not anticipated. Recruits of the right type were now no longer coming forward in adequate numbers; and whenever an impressive demonstration was desired, it was generally found necessary to hire men for the occasion. This not merely caused heavy inroads upon the funds available, but in addition, adversely affected the character and composition of the volunteer bodies, who quickly gained a reputation in face of which it was useless to expound the patriotic nature of their activities. They prevented doctors from going on errands of mercy: they even exhumed and mutilated a corpse: they outraged public decency and provoked peaceful persons to bitter resentment. When in addition they made the arrival of the Prince in Madras the excuse for attempted terrorism, at once futile and irritating, coupled with destruction of property, they exasperated many persons previously in sympathy with non-co-operation. Official measures against the volunteers, so far from being resented, as Mr. Gandhi had hoped, were in many cases openly welcomed: in most cases hailed with secret relief. Being thus deprived by gradual degrees of his principal weapon, Mr. Gandhi seems to have cherished two designs. In the first place, he was determined to make a bid for Moderate support; and in the second place, he made up his mind, as a last resource, to put into practice that plan of civil disobedience whose dangers he so vividly realized. It seems probable at this juncture, that he underestimated alike the strength of Government and the damage which his own movement had suffered in the public eye from its many failures to redeem confident prophecies - notably the prophecy concerning Swaraj. The ultimatum which he addressed to the Viceroy at the beginning of February was plainly intended to detach the Liberal Party from Government. He declared that a camp-

sign of civil disobedience had been forced on the non-co-operation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free speech, free association, and a free press. These rights, he asserted, the Government had sought to repress by its recent application of the Seditious Meetings and Criminal Law Amendment Act. He charged the Viceroy with having summarily rejected the proposal for a Conference, although the terms accepted by the recent Working Committee of Congress were in accordance with the requirements of His Excellency as indicated in his Calcutta speech. Mr. Gandhi announced at the same time that should the Government agree to the release of all prisoners convicted and under-trial for non-violent activities, and undertake to refrain absolutely from interference with the non-co-operation party, he would be prepared to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character till the offenders now in jail had had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation. He insisted, however, on continuing the propaganda of non-co-operation. Now in the issue of this ultimatum, Mr. Gandhi had reckoned without his host. It appears evident that he believed Government to be on the point of yielding, and that it merely remained for him to propose the terms which he would accept. But to the dismay of his party, the Government of India retorted by a powerful and closely reasoned statement.

Government Reply.

They emphatically repudiated his assertion that the campaign of civil disobedience had been forced on the non-co-operation party, recapitulating the circumstances which had necessitated the adoption of comprehensive and drastic measures against the volunteers. They also disposed conclusively of the allegation that Lord Reading had summarily rejected the proposals for a Conference. They criticised in withering fashion the demands put forward by Mr. Gandhi, and concluded with a solemn warning that mass civil disobedience if adopted, would be met with measures of sternness and severity. Mr. Gandhi's position thus became more difficult than ever. He had entirely failed to overawe Government into accepting his terms; the Liberal party showed no signs of changing their attitude. He was practically thrown back upon his final resource, namely civil disobedience; but he made a last effort to win over the Moderates by issuing a reply, which indeed convinced few, to the official communiqué.

When the new policy of Government came up for discussion in the Reformed Councils, both Central and Provincial, Mr. Gandhi's last hope of detaching the Moderates must have vanished. In Bengal, indeed, a motion for the suspension of the new policy was carried against

Government ; but the Legislature was satisfied when the submission of the proceedings against the volunteers to the scrutiny of a High Court Judge was promised. Elsewhere, and notably in the Indian Legislature, the elected members approved, in sober and weighty fashion, of the action taken by the authorities.

Civil disobedience being his last resort, to civil disobedience did Mr. Gandhi now propose to turn. In some districts of the east coast of the Madras Presidency, a campaign against the payment of Government dues had already begun, only to collapse in a few weeks before the determined opposition of the local authorities. Mr. Gandhi himself went to Bardoli in order to supervise the commencement of civil disobedience in that taluk. But at the critical moment there occurred a disorder of the very type which Mr. Gandhi had obviously feared. At Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces, a terrible outrage occurred on the 4th

of February. Some twenty-one policemen and rural watchmen were murdered in the most deliberate manner by a mob of "volunteers" and infuriated peasantry. Both the brutality of this outrage and its unprovoked character combined to deal the final blow to Mr. Gandhi's hopes of immediate success. Responsible opinion all over the country, irrespective of creed and race, was horrified at this sudden revelation of the appalling possibilities of non-co-operation. Men felt that they had been walking insecurely upon the edge of an abyss, into which they might at any moment be precipitated. A recrudescence of agrarian trouble in the United Provinces, under the form of an *eka* or "one big union" of anti-landlord cultivators ; a serious strike, obviously political in its bearing, upon the East Indian Railway—all combined to arouse public opinion against non-co-operation. To his credit be it said, Mr. Gandhi did not hesitate. Whether, as some have maintained, he made Chauri Chaura the excuse for suspending a movement which he had always regarded as dangerous and now know to be, at least for the present, hopeless ; or whether this outbreak convinced him of the impossibility of carrying civil disobedience to a successful conclusion by non-violent methods, may be open to question. The fact remains that at an emergent meeting of the

Working Committee held at Bardoli on the 11th and the 12th of February, he resolved to suspend mass civil disobedience forthwith, and to instruct his followers to suspend every preparation of an offensive nature. He further advised Congress organisations to stop all activities designed to court arrest and

imprisonment, together with all volunteer processions and public meetings designed to defy the notifications prohibiting them. The only picketing which he was now prepared to permit was that carried on by volunteers of known good character in connection with liquor shops. He advised that all Congress organisations should confine themselves first to the enlistment of at least one crore of members for the Indian National Congress; secondly, to the popularization of the spinning-wheel, hand-spun and hand-woven cloth; thirdly, to the organisation of national schools; fourthly, to the salvation of the depressed classes; fifthly, to the organisation of the temperance campaign, and sixthly, to the organisation of village and town arbitration committees for the private settlement of disputes.

The Bardoli resolutions, it is safe to say, came with an even greater shock to the rank and file of the non-co operating party than did the outrage which had occasioned them. From this moment onwards may be traced a marked decline of confidence in Mr. Gandhi's political leadership. While his personality was still revered, his wisdom in matters political was from henceforward openly and boldly questioned. A fortnight later, when the All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi to consider the Bardoli resolutions, his personal ascendancy even over his immediate followers was severely taxed. Delegates from Maharashtra emphatically stated that the haste with which mass civil disobedience was twice recommended and with equal haste twice suspended, had culminated in national humiliation. The extreme Khilafatists were even more dissatisfied, and it seemed doubtful whether they would much longer be amenable to his influence. In face of opposition of a kind more determined than he had hitherto encountered, Mr. Gandhi was compelled to modify in some degree the strictness of his Bardoli resolutions. While he was successful in saving his face through the confirmation of the Bardoli ban against mass civil disobedience, he was compelled to accept the position that individual civil disobedience, whether defensive or aggressive, might still be commenced by permission of the Provincial Congress Committees. Further, individual civil disobedience was defined in a manner which made the distinction between individual and mass civil disobedience of little practical moment. He was also obliged to extend his permission regarding picketing to foreign-cloth shops as well as to liquor shops. On these terms, the Bardoli resolutions were in name confirmed. But whatever compromises Mr. Gandhi might be

compelled to adopt when confronted with the growing restiveness of various sections of his adherents, he himself was plainly convinced in his own mind that mass civil disobedience or anything equivalent to it was for the moment entirely impossible. A remarkable feature of the political discussions in the press and on the platform during the next few weeks is the entire disappearance of the Delhi resolutions—which were quietly dropped by Mr. Gandhi—and the reversion to the policy outlined at Bardoli.

Meanwhile the Prince, in pursuance of the concluding portion of his tour programme, was journeying northward to Delhi. From a popular point of view, His Royal Highness' visits to the capital of the Southern Presidency, to the great States of Mysore and Hyderabad, had been uniformly successful. At Indore he had made the acquaintance of the Ruling Princes of Central India, at Gwalior he had been the guest of the Maharaja Sindhia. At Delhi, the non-co-operators had made a concerted effort to mar the enthusiasm which the coming of a member of the House of Windsor would normally have excited; but their efforts were seriously disconcerted by the publication, a day or two before his arrival, of the Bardoli resolutions. The complete cessation of all aggressive activity which these resolutions implied, filled the local enthusiasts with dismay. Accordingly, they hesitated to employ their accustomed tactics, and left the loyal elements of the population free to obey their own impulses. In consequence, the Prince's visit to Delhi, and all the functions which made up that busy week passed off with the utmost success and brilliance. From Delhi, he entered the Punjab, where he spent the major portion

of his time in reviewing serving and pensioned soldiers and displaying his keen personal interest in all matters connected with the Army. Lahore itself gave him a welcome hardly second to any which he had received in India. The non-co-operators seemed for the moment utterly disconcerted, and the enthusiasm which marked the Prince's public functions was alike unbounded and unquestioned. His visit to the North West Frontier Province was equally successful. At Peshawar the hooligan element in the city did their best to mar the warm welcome given by the bulk of the inhabitants, but their conduct excited nothing but reprobation. The Afridi tribesmen gave His Royal Highness an enthusiastic reception, which was more than equalled by the interest and delight displayed by the Yusufzais at his visit to the Malakand Pass. From these northern regions the Prince revisited the United Provinces, whence,

after witnessing the competition for the Kadir Cup, he passed to Karachi, where H. M. S. "Renown" awaited him.

Through the greater part of February, the councils of the non-co-operators continued to be confused by the lightning change which Mr. Gandhi had introduced so unexpectedly into his campaign.

**Non-co-operators'
Dissensions.**

The Khilafat party, with their clear-cut religious grievance, alone seemed to preserve if not their equanimity, at least their enthusiasm. Had it not been for the fact that false rumours of British help, principally financial, to Greece were at the moment exciting the bitterest resentment among the Khilafatists, it seems probable that the non-co-operation movement might have dissolved into a welter of chaos. Fierce internal dissensions broke out between those who saw in Mr. Gandhi's latest pronouncement a confession of failure, and those who were convinced that it was only necessary to persevere until all his aims were realized. The strength of Khilafat feeling, however, continued to lend non-co-operation a formidable appearance. But in the beginning of March, a considerable sensation was made in Muslim circles by the publication of a strongly-worded representation by the Government of India to the Home Government. Lord Reading's Administration, with the concurrence of the local Governments and Administrations, once more laid before His Majesty's Government their conviction of the intensity of the feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres. In particular, they urged upon His Majesty's Government three points as being of the first importance, subject to certain safeguards; the evacuation of Constantinople; the suzerainty of the Sultan over the Holy Places; the restoration to Turkey of Ottoman Thrace including Adrianople, and of Smyrna. The publication of this document, combined with a growing sense of disappointment at the failure of Mr. Gandhi's campaign, produced a great effect upon Muslim opinion. The non-co-operation movement was in consequence considerably weakened, since many even of the most ardent Khilafatists began to believe that there was more to be gained by supporting Government in its honest efforts than by adhering to the hitherto infructuous schemes of Mr. Gandhi. The sensation thus produced began to dispute with Mr. Gandhi's movement for the first place in public interest. Almost immediately, came another even greater sensation, which completely overshadowed the non-co-operation campaign. When the news of

Government's Memorandum.

Mr. Montagu's resignation, following the publication of the Memorandum, came to India, a general feeling of apprehension spread over the country. It was feared lest the disappearance from office of a Secretary

of State whose name had been associated, even by enemies of the British connection, with the utmost friendship and liberality towards Indian aspirations, might indicate a determination on the part of the British Government to change its angle of vision. As soon the circumstances of that resignation were known in India, the first feeling of apprehension gradually passed away. But the interest excited in all quarters by the manifest desire of Lord Reading's Government to satisfy Muslim opinion still continued to exist as a factor hostile to Mr. Gandhi. Indeed by alienating from him that Muslim sentiment which had once been his most formidable political asset, it struck the final blow to his political, as opposed to his personal, prestige. He had already lost the support of many of his followers by his refusal to persist in mass civil disobedience. He had forfeited the fickle trust of the lower classes by his failure to secure Swaraj on the date when they understood him to have promised it: while to the upper classes the dangers of his movement were daily becoming more apparent. At this juncture the administration decided to order his arrest, which took place on March

Mr. Gandhi Arrested.

10th. This step had long been contemplated, but had been postponed from time to time for various reasons. In the first place there was a natural reluctance to incarcerate a man who, however mistaken might be his activities, was by all widely respected and by millions revered as a saint. Moreover, he had consistently preached the gospel of non-violence, and done all that he could to restrain the more impatient of his followers from embarking upon forcible methods. It was further impossible to ignore the fact that until a substantial body of Indian opinion was prepared to support measures against Mr. Gandhi's person: and until the popular belief in his divine inspiration had been weakened by the efflux of time, there was reason to fear that his arrest would have been attended with bloody outbreaks in numerous places, by the intensification of racial bitterness, and by the creation of conditions in which the new constitution would have little or no chance of success. That the arrest, being well timed, passed off peacefully, should not mislead the reader into thinking that it could have been effected with equal absence of popular excitement at an earlier period. It came when Mr. Gandhi's political reputation, for reasons already

outlined, was at its nadir ; when the enthusiasm of his followers had reached the lowest ebb ; when the public mind of India was engrossed with other issues. His trial passed off in complete tranquillity. The Advocate General of Bombay had no difficulty in proving that certain articles written by Mr. Gandhi, which formed the subject matter of the charges, were part of a campaign to spread disaffection openly and systematically, to render Government impossible and to overthrow it. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty. In the course of his speech he said :

“ And I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate General has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences, the Madras occurrences and the Chauri Chaura occurrences.

His Address to the Court.

Thinking over these things deeply, and sleeping over them night after night and examining my heart I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair share of experience of this world, I should know the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I was set free I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I did not do so. I have felt it this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say all that I have said here just now. I wanted to avoid violence ; I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is the last article of my faith. But I had to make my choice ; I had either to submit to a system which I consider has done irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad ; I am deeply sorry for it ; and I am therefore here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here therefore to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen.”

The Judge while paying full tribute to Mr. Gandhi's position in the eyes of millions of his countrymen, emphasised that it was his duty to judge him as an individual subject to the law, who had on his own admission broken the law and committed what to an ordinary man

must appear to be grave offences against the State. "I do not forget," said the Judge, "that you have consistently preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed, how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence, it passes my capacity to understand. There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so." Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment.

The sentence, like the proceedings which led up to it, was received with entire calmness in India. General regret was expressed, by all shades of opinion, that Mr. Gandhi had brought upon his own head a punishment so severe. But the removal of

His Conviction.

this remarkable man from the sphere which he had for so long dominated, produced neither disturbance nor resentment. The fact is that the non-co-operation movement was largely paralysed by those internal dissensions which had from time to time taxed to the uttermost Mr. Gandhi's authority even when he was at the height of his reputation. The gradual decline in his prestige had set them free, so that there was no more cohesion in his party. Hindu-Muslim differences, from the beginning formidable, had recently been emphasised by Muhammadan appreciation of Government's efforts on behalf of the Khilafat, and by a growing resentment at Mr. Gandhi's unfulfilled promises. Extreme Hindu opinion was alienated by his failure to realise Swaraj and to bring Government to submission. The more responsible sections of the population had come to realise the anarchical implications of his programme. In a word, he had lost the confidence of his most formidable supporters. Moreover, the lengthy period of intensive agitation was now beginning to merge into its natural consequence, apathy and indifference. The classes were less excited, the masses, occupied with excellent crops, more contented. Hence the fortuitous occurrence, simultaneously with Mr. Gandhi's arrest, of Mr. Montagu's resignation, was sufficient completely to overshadow the trial and conviction of the famous Mahatma.

The disappearance from the political scene of the principal actor in the non-co-operation movement affords a convenient opportunity for reviewing the achievements of that movement up to the time of writing.

It will be realised from what has been previously remarked, that the specific items of the non-co-operation programme have in large measure miscarried. The demand for the resignation of titles and honorary posts has produced a disappointing response. The boycott of Councils has inflicted hardship only on the non-co-operation party. The boycott of law courts, accompanied by the erection of arbitration committees, has done nothing to relieve the congestion of civil litigation with which the Indian law courts are normally burdened. The anti drink campaign, while responsible for a considerable amount of intimidation and disorder, has produced results of little value to earnest reformers. The like can be said of the movement for the removal of "untouchability," which, where it did not fail altogether, has resulted in an increasing acerbity of caste feeling. In the cult of the spinning wheel, some useful work was unquestionably performed; but the failure to popularise simultaneously hand-loom weaving has prevented the campaign for the general introduction of home-spun cloth from achieving results which might otherwise have rewarded it. The boycott of foreign cloth, which was favoured by the support of certain Indian Mill-owners and by the paralysis of piece goods dealers resulting from the exchange deadlock, certainly assisted a reduction of cloth imports. On the other hand, when the present glut of imports is exhausted, fresh orders must soon be placed abroad in order to satisfy the Indian demand. The effort to enrol Congress members to the number of 10 millions has not up to the time of writing been successful. The boycott of educational institutions has resulted, as already indicated, in the infliction of ruinous misery upon thousands of promising lives. Its services to the cause of education, national or otherwise, are negative. Mr. Gandhi's one conspicuous success, the Tilak Swaraj Fund, was largely dissipated in unproductive fashion upon the volunteer organisations. So much then for the specific items of the non-co-operation campaign.

But when we turn to consider the campaign as a whole, it would be idle to assert that it was infructuous. Whether the results obtained are desirable or undesirable, will be demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt by the mere passage of time. But that these results are real is no longer open to question. Mr. Gandhi's intensive movement during the years 1921 and 1922 has diffused far and wide among classes previously oblivious to political considerations, a strong negative patriotism born of race hatred of the foreigner. The

**The Non-co-operation
Programme Unrealised.**

**General Results of Non-
co-operation.**

less prosperous classes both in the town and in the country side have become aroused to certain aspects—even though these be mischievous, exaggerated and false—of the existing political situation. On the whole, this must be pronounced up to the present, the most formidable achievement of the non-co-operation movement. That it has certain potentialities for good will be maintained by many; that it will immensely increase the dangers and difficulties of the next few years can be denied by few.

As against this single positive achievement, there has to be set a large debit balance. Keen Indian critics have begun to notice certain disastrous consequences to the moral sense of the community

Damage to the Community.

resulting from the spread of Mr. Gandhi's doctrines. In the first place, the demand for complete and absolute conformity with Mr. Gandhi's orders has inevitably led to certain patent insincerities. Many of those who have taken the most prominent part in his movement have failed themselves to give effect to some of his most elementary behests. Many lawyers who support his campaign have failed to sever their connection with active practice. Many persons who are prominent in preaching the boycott of State educational institutions, refuse to withdraw their own children therefrom. Many of those

Insincerity.

who preach the removal of untouchability are themselves notorious for their rigid adherence to the age-long prerogatives of the upper castes. Enthusiastic exponents to the public of the spinning wheel and of home spun cloth are found in private life clothing themselves in the finest imported fabrics. But this is hardly surprising when Mr. Gandhi himself, while actively preaching the benefits of the simple life, has been himself conspicuous for his employment of every resource of modern civilisation in the furtherance of his campaign. He, who has long denounced railways, telegraphs and machinery, has utilised all of them in his rapid and meteoric activities. Such a contrast between theory and practice among those who inspire reverence as national leaders, cannot but serve to injure

Corruption.

the moral sense of the community. Insincerity has been rampant, hypocrisy so notorious as to be self-evident; added to which, the collection of large sums of money from the public has produced regrettable effects upon the honesty of many. It would be interesting to know what proportion of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was actually at the disposal of those controlling the campaign, and what proportion remained in the pockets of those

who were responsible for the actual collection. Specific charges, never denied, have been brought against the personal integrity of many prominent figures in the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Mahomed Ali has been asked by the Urdu Press of Upper India to account for no fewer than six different funds which have from time to time passed through his hands. From the more punctilious leaders of the movement, bitter comments have proceeded on occasion regarding the casual and it and perfunctory balance sheets favoured by the local representatives of the Congress. Furthermore, while the non-co-operation movement has been in its purest form non-violent, the character of the propaganda by which it has been sustained has inevitably led to violent outbreaks. The enrolment of local hooligans and even public women in the ranks of national volunteers, besides leading to a marked deterioration in the general sense of public propriety, has inflicted infinite damage upon the general capacity of the community for self-restraint. In consequence, intolerance is rampant, racial hatred supreme.

Intolerance.

The time has not yet arrived to write the epitaph of the non-co-operation movement. It is still conceivable that the defeats it has recently sustained will result in the diversion of such disinterested national aspirations as are at present overlaid with baser motives, into the noble channels of social reform. But from the political point of view, it would seem that non-co-operation has proved but a negative force ; that its revival, if this should unfortunately occur, would be productive only of harm. It has immensely complicated the progress of the new reforms ; it has retarded India's advance towards Dominion status ; it has smirched her reputation in the eyes of the world. The tragedy is that a movement of this character, which in its origin contained such considerable elements of disinterested patriotism, should have been diverted into activities which have fostered anarchy, inflamed racial hatred, and produced infinite, though it may be trusted, temporary, damage to India's potentialities for political development.

Conclusion.

During the closing scenes of Mr. Gandhi's activities, the reformed Councils were giving renewed testimony of their capacity as instruments of political advance. The Delhi session of the Indian Legislature began in the middle of January. After adopting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and an address of congratulation to Her Royal Highness Princess Mary, both Chambers devoted themselves to a long list of highly important public business. Among

the most dramatic debates of the session was that initiated in the Legislative Assembly on Mr. Iswar Saran's motion for the immediate abandonment of the so-called "repressive" policy of Government.

The Legislature Supports the Executive.

Those who attacked this policy based their contention on the belief that it was merely aggravating the critical condition of India by supplying further fuel to the flames of non-co-operation. On the other hand, its supporters emphasised the difference between constitutional and unconstitutional agitation, maintaining that if Government, to combat those outlaws who were at war with it, had adopted certain measures, those measures could not be pilloried as repressive. On the Government side, Sir William Vincent and Dr. Sapru made convincing and forceful speeches which produced a great effect upon the Assembly. The Home Member mentioned that during the year 1921, the military had been called out 47 times to suppress serious disorders; while during the last three months of that year, their assistance was evoked no fewer than 20 times. The House, he said, should ponder over its responsibility and see that consistently with its allegiance to the Crown, it did not deliberately encourage those who intended to overthrow Government by all possible means. The tenor of the debate showed conclusively that the majority of the House was behind Government. Both the original motion and various amendments to it were decisively negatived. The Council of State endorsed the Assembly's approval of the policy of the Executive by rejecting a motion for a session of the two Houses to settle the lines of a Round Table Conference. Further evidence of the serious manner in which majority of Members of the Legislature realised their responsibility during the critical juncture which confronted the country was provided when one member of the Assembly moved a resolution asking the Viceroy to release the Ali Brothers. Sir William Vincent, in the

The Ali Brothers.

course of a crushing reply, gave a detailed account of the manner in which the two brothers had been consistently hostile to Government, had promoted Pan-Islamism, and had opposed the ideas of true nationalism. During the great war and in the Afghan war, said Sir William Vincent, the one idea of these men had been to support and encourage the King's enemies. After their release from internment by Royal clemency, they had been carrying on a ceaseless campaign in the direction of violence. The grave character of their offence in seducing troops and their past conduct made them entirely unworthy of consideration. So great was the effect

produced by this speech that although the resolution had at first received the support of certain Muhammadan members, not one of them recorded his vote in its favour, and it was unanimously defeated. Among other

Other Questions.

pressing questions which were taken up by the Legislature, mention may be made of a message of confidence in Mr. Montagu, which was despatched at the request of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly. On a subsequent occasion, when the Secretary of State's resignation was known, the Assembly adopted a resolution expressing its deep regret at the event, and its profound sense of gratitude for the services which he had rendered to India and the Empire. From the Government benches, the speeches were mainly directed to the task of dissipating any apprehensions which might exist that Mr. Montagu's resignation implied a change in the policy of His Majesty's Government. In the Council of State emphasis was also laid upon Mr. Montagu's services to the Khilafat cause.

While the debates in both Houses upon questions of urgent public interest displayed the general support of the elected members of Government's policy, certain members both of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State showed themselves most anxious to enlarge

Impetuosity and Caution.

in every way the powers of the respective bodies. On the other hand, certain other members were only prepared to lend cautious and discriminating support to such projects. Illustrations of both attitudes, as now the one and now the other section predominated, are readily forthcoming. A lively debate took place on a resolution recommending the Governor General to abolish the distinction between votable and non-votable items—a step which, according to one of two possible interpretations of a certain section of the Government of India Act, seemed within his competence. This resolution was carried; and when it was announced that the law officers of the Crown had decided that it was not within the competence of the Governor General to declare as votable those items which had by statute been declared non-votable, there was considerable disappointment among the non-official members. On the other hand in the Council of State a resolution for the introduction of the practice of voting an address after the speech from the Throne—that is, after the Viceroy's speech at the beginning of the session—was rejected: for the majority of the House were convinced by the Home Member's exposition of the constitutional difficulties raised by the demand. In another direc-

tion also, the constitutional sense of the Council prevailed over the enthusiasm of certain of its members. A motion for the election of India's representatives to the Imperial and other International Conferences, was rejected, when it was pointed out that not only was there no precedent for sending representatives elected by the Legislature to a Conference where various Powers entered into negotiations, but that the proposal was of itself impossible under the Government of India Act. In the Assembly, moreover a resolution on broadly similar lines met a like fate. On the other hand, despite the opposition of the official benches, a resolution for associating Standing Committees with certain departments of the Government of India for the purpose of enabling non-officials to understand the inner-workings of the Government departments, was adopted. Towards the end of the session, however, Government accepted a proposal that the functions of the Finance Committee should be so defined as to include the scrutiny of all proposals for new votable expenditure, the sanction of allotments out of lump grants, the suggestion of retrenchment and economy in expenditure, and the general assistance of the Finance Department when advice was sought. This further enlarged the powers of the Standing Finance Committee which has now become a very important body.

Matters financial, indeed, occupied a large share of the attention of both Houses. As will be apparent in the subsequent chapter, the disastrous Budget for 1922-23 seemed to threaten a repetition of the

The Legislature and the Budget.

danger of deadlock, which had been avoided a year previously through the moderation of the new Parliament. When the general discussion on the budget took place, it revealed remarkable unanimity among all the non-official members of the Assembly, both European and Indian. The financial policy of Government was subjected to severe attack, and there were vigorous and repeated demands for retrenchment. Many suggestions, some of a drastic character, were put forward for the reduction of the heavy item of military expenditure. On the official side, it was pointed out that the successive deficits during past years were not due to extravagance on the part of Government; and in particular, the military expenditure was defended in forcible manner. The general line taken by the Assembly was much more determined than that of last year. The members, non-official European as well as Indian, were not satisfied with the economies hitherto effected in the administration. They demanded the appointment of a Retrenchment Committee—a point upon which Government

met their views—and meanwhile they refused to vote more than 20 crores (£20 millions) of new taxation out of the total demand of 29 crores (£29 millions). On the demands for individual grants, reductions were made which totalled something under a crore of rupees (£1 million). The Finance Bill was amended in such fashion as to exclude the proposed increase in salt duty, in cotton excise, in duty on machinery and on cotton piece goods. A new clause was added providing for the amendment of the Indian Paper Currency Act of 1920 which will have the effect of removing, for 2 years from the 1st of April 1921, the obligation to utilise interest derived from securities in the Paper Currency Reserve in cancelling such securities. The net result of the changes introduced by the Assembly has been to leave a total uncovered deficit of slightly over 9 crores of rupees (£9 millions). The supplementary estimates which came up on the 1st of March were sanctioned after some slight discussion. To these proceedings particular interest is lent by the fact that Lord Reading did not exercise the Governor General's power of "certifying" the Finance Bill: while the Government did not employ its emergency powers for the restoration of excised items. The Legislature is thus left to face the consequences, whether for good or for ill, of its own action, a procedure which cannot fail still further to confirm the growing sense of responsibility which distinguishes the majority of members.

The manner in which the Budget was treated by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State evoked considerable criticism from the press in England, as well as from certain sections of the press in India. But responsible public opinion in India has for some time been pressing upon the authorities the necessity for retrenchment. The Assembly in consequence found much effective support for its position—support which was by no means confined to the Indian-edited newspapers. That this position will involve the administration in considerable difficulties in the course of the current financial year, cannot be denied; but it is to be hoped, not without confidence, that as soon as the Legislature shall have been satisfied, by the Report of the Retrenchment Committee, that all possible economies have been effected in the administration, it will have no scruples in voting the taxation necessary to meet essential expenditure.

Racial questions continued to excite deep interest in the Central Legislature. Resolutions were put forward to accelerate the recruitment of Indians for the

Other Business.

All-India services. Considerable attention was devoted to the recruitment of Indians for the Indian Marine as well as for technical professions of various kinds. The position of Indians abroad aroused considerable comment and Government were again urged to press the Indian standpoint upon the Home authorities. Both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State devoted attention to discussing various resolutions designed to improve the industrial condition of the country. The suggestion, that in so far as possible, the 150 crores (£150 millions) which were to be set aside for the rehabilitation of the railways during the next 5 years should be spent in India, was accepted by Government. It was agreed that India should participate in the British Empire Exhibition in London in 1924, and adequate funds were provided for the purpose. Questions of public health and social reform were also discussed, as a result of resolutions which will be dealt with more fully in another place. The Delhi session of the Legislature was happily notable for the continuance of cordial relations between Government and the elected members. Further, despite the deep interest displayed in racial questions, the division list was very rarely arranged on racial lines. The European non-officials were by no means found invariably in the Government lobby—a fact which certain critics

Character of the Session.

in England have failed to appreciate at its true significance. The growth of the party system exposed Government to occasional difficulty; but, on the other hand, often enabled the officials to turn the scale according as they threw their weight in support of the Democratic party, or of its rival, the National party—a promising creation of this session. Sober, even conservative, opinion was by no means absent; and Government has on many occasions been able to secure substantial support for a good case. The majority of members seemed to realise fully that a deadlock was to the interests of no one: and appeals to their sense of responsibility were almost always effective. In short, despite all difficulties, the new constitution is securing increasing support, and laying the foundations of a real sense of responsibility among those who are engaged in working it.

Before the Delhi session of the Indian Legislature came to a close,

The Royal Visit.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had left the country. While from many points of view it is regrettable that during his visit the political condition of India should have been so disturbed, yet there are certain compensations which should not be omitted from any attempt to estimate the

effects of his tour. His Royal Highness has seen India at a time when the ebb and flow of political currents have arrested attention: he has acquired a knowledge of her conditions which cannot fail to be of the utmost value in the future. He has learned, at first hand and from his own experience, of her difficulties, of her aspirations, and of her uneasiness. These experiences can but bear fruit in the exercise of that full measure of sympathy and interest which has ever characterised the feelings of the British Crown towards the Indian Empire. His Royal Highness took many opportunities of appraising for himself the work done by the civil services of India and of discussing with officers the conditions and difficulties in which their task is performed. This sympathy from one, whose motto is "I serve" and who, though worn in Empire travel and service, did not spare himself by deferring his visit to India: who, while in India, carried out the purposes of his journey with steadfast devotion and scrupulous care, cannot fail to inspire and hearten the Public Services of India. It would be idle to deny that the misguided attempts of the non-co-operators to boycott His Royal Highness have produced a serious effect upon public opinion not merely in the United Kingdom, but also in America. These attempts have been considered, not unreasonably, as a deliberate affront to the Majesty of the Crown and to the person of one who has made himself beloved in every country he has visited. But, as His Royal Highness has himself said from time to time, the inmost heart of India remains sound and loyal. In him the real, the fundamental India has secured an interpreter who will be able to make plain to the world her difficulties and the manner in which she is facing them. His visit has aroused an interest in Indian affairs among the people of Great Britain such as has never been known before; and this interest has been awakened at the very moment when India most needs sympathy, understanding, and assistance.

Space would fail were we to attempt to indicate in any detail the manifold public activities which characterised
The Prince's Activities. His Royal Highness' Indian tour. It must suffice to summarise in the briefest possible manner, some of their immediate effects. His visits to the Indian States must be accounted an Imperial asset of the utmost importance. Only a Member of the House of Windsor can unite the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India in common loyalty with the people who live in British Territory. The tie which holds these Princes to the Throne must inevitably be largely one of allegiance to the person of the King-Emperor. His Royal Highness'

personal charm, his sportsmanship, and his frank comradeship, have proved a direct inspiration to many Indian Rulers. They have helped to bind the Indian States in closer loyalty to the British Throne, and in doing so, to bind them in closer comradeship to British India. Outside the States, in the course of his travels among the direct subjects of the King-Emperor, the Prince has performed work of the utmost value to the Empire. His gracious replies to the addresses of welcome presented to him by the Legislative Councils, Central and Provincial; his interviews with the Indian Ministers and Members of Council; his keen interest in democratic institutions have combined to give a considerable impetus to the Reforms. He has raised those now engaged in working the new constitution in the social estimation of their countrymen; he has provided them with additional inspiration; he has added to their sense of responsibility. Among other classes of the community, also, his work has been equally beneficent. Substantial elements of society, so important from the stabilising influence they exert upon their countrymen—local notables, leading merchants, important landholders—have received additional encouragement in their loyalty. Large numbers of the lower classes, both from town and country side, who have come into contact with him, have taken away into their humble homes an impression of His Royal Highness, gracious personality which will endure throughout their lives. Further to the Army and to the Police, those great organisations upon which the established order of all States ultimately depends, his visit has been an unmixed joy. Quite apart from the encouragement which his gracious interest has given to service men of all ranks, many pensioners gathered from villages far and wide, have taken back with them an inspiring recollection of this gallant young Prince, who speaks to them in their own tongue and displays so lively and so entirely human an interest in their welfare. Unmistakable feelings of pride have been aroused in thousands of hearts at the feeling that they are one in comradeship-at-arms with their future King-Emperor. Finally, upon the non-co-operation movement itself, the visit of His Royal Highness has not been without effect. Before he left, there was a general growing feeling among the substantial classes of the population that the outrageous conduct of the non-co-operators had disgraced India's fair fame. The fact that His Royal Highness' programme was carried out in detail despite the loudly proclaimed efforts of the non-co-operation leaders, has not failed to prove a severe set back to their claims. On the whole it may be said that His Royal Highness' visit to India has

been an inspiring example to every subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and for this reason alone, has proved of notable service to the Empire. Of His Royal Highness' own feelings, his Farewell Message gives evidence.

"I bid farewell to India to-day with feelings of the deepest regret. I prize the hand of friendship which India has extended to me and shall ever treasure the memories of my first visit in future years. By God's help I may now hope to view India, her Princes and peoples with an understanding eye. My gathered knowledge will, I trust, assist me to read her needs aright and will enable me to approach her problems with sympathy, appreciate her difficulties and appraise her achievements. It has been a wonderful experience for me to see the provinces and States of India and to watch the machinery of the Government with interest. I have noted signs of expansion and development, on every side. It has been a great privilege to thank the Princes and peoples of India for their efforts and sacrifices on behalf of the Empire in the great war and to renew my acquaintance with her gallant fighting forces. Finally my warmest thanks are due to Your Excellency, to the officials of your Government and to the Princes and peoples of India by whose cordial assistance I have been helped at every stage of my journey to secure my cherished ambition. I undertook this journey to see and know India and to be known by her. Your Excellency's welcome at the outset and the encouragement which I have constantly received on all hands since landing in India has given me heart for the task. I have received continuous proofs of devotion to the throne and the person of the King-Emperor and on my return to England it will be my privilege to convey these assurances of loyalty to His Imperial Majesty. I trust that my sojourn in this country may have helped to add some grains to that great store of mutual trust and regard and of desire to help each other which must ever form the foundation of India's well being. On my part I will only say that if the memories which I leave behind in India are half as precious as those I take away I may indeed feel that my visit has brought us closer together. That India may progress and prosper is my earnest prayer. I hope it may be my good fortune to see India again in the years to come.—Edward P."

To which His Excellency the Viceroy replied :

"The heart of India will be stirred by Your Royal Highness' message of farewell. You came to India on an embassy of good-will, the youthful heir to the Throne, a veteran soldier of the King, India's friend. You leave India having won India's heart, for road to the heart of people lies

India

...youself to gain the one. Providence has endowed you with the other. Long will the memory of your embassy live in India's heart. On behalf of the Princes, peoples and officials of India I thank Your Royal Highness and express for myself and them our particular gratification that Your Royal Highness hopes to see India again in the future. For myself and them I wish you God-speed, all happiness until we again have the inestimable privilege of welcoming Your Royal Highness to India."

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